LORD BRODIE

HIS

LIFE AND TIMES

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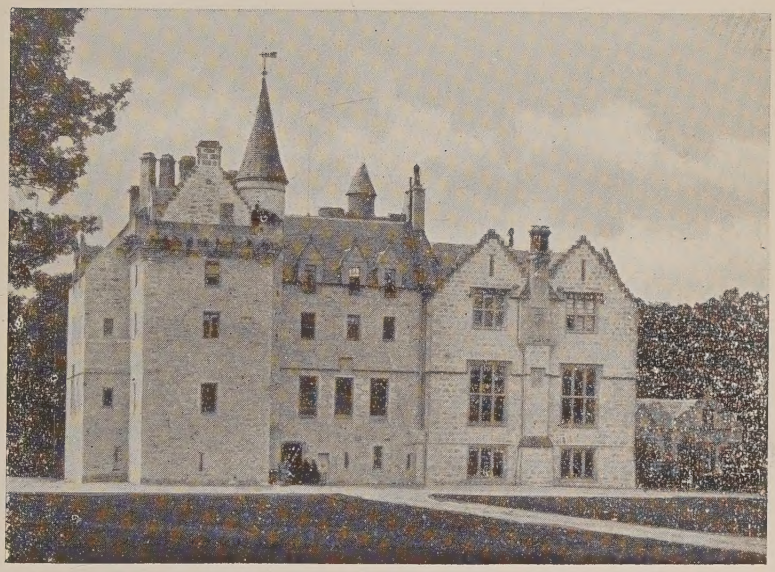

Brodie Castle.

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LORD BRODIE:

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

1617-80

(With Continuation to the Revolution).

By GEORGE BAIN,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF NAIRNSHIRE.

NAIRN: "TELEGRAPH" OFFICE.
1904.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the publication of this work is to present in fuller outline than has hitherto been done, a sketch of the life and character of a prominent Northern man in one of the most interesting periods of Scottish history.

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE is an example of a Scottish Laird who was warmly attached to the Covenanting cause, but opposed to what might be considered its extreme tendencies. He had an individuality of his own, and is essentially a type of the man of moderation—one of a class who seldom gets justice in the time of contending factions, but who is generally recognised to have been right in the main when the force of partizan spirit is exhausted. The

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views and actions of such a man at a great crisis in national history are worthy of study, especially when, as in his case, his intellectual endowments and integrity of character ranked him as one of the foremost men in Scotland in his time.

Our information regarding ALEXANDER BRODIE is mainly derived from the copious Diary he wrote, several volumes of which have been preserved, and were published in a bulky folio by the Spalding Club in 1863—a work well known to the antiquary and the historical student, but in its form not adapted to the general reader. His Diary is not of a character to be taken up and read as one would read a work intended for publication. It was never meant to be scanned by any human eye but his own. It is the remembrance-book of a devout man much given to reflection and meditation, and was doubtless kept under lock and key during his lifetime. It was written during moments set apart for spiritual exercises, usually at the close of the day, and is largely the record of self-examination and introspection, with the result of manifold confessions of weakness and unworthiness—experiences not unnatural in the case of the man who habitually brings his motives and actions under the search-

light of divine truth, even though he may not record them so faithfully as did the Laird of Brodie.

An obviously unfair use is made of BRODIE'S Diary when his heart-searchings and confessions before the Almighty are dealt with as the true characteristics of the man. The heart most deeply sensible of its faults and failings is not usually the farthest from grace. The consciousness before God of a weak and vacillating disposition is no evidence of a spirit unstable and wayward beyond that of other men. BRODIE'S secret sorrows over the inconsistencies of his life, as revealed in his Diary, are proofs of a tender conscience rather than marks of a double-minded man. The amiability and gentleness of disposition he manifested in his intercourse with his fellow-men he himself regarded as a "snare"; the good name he bore, all men at times speaking well of him, was to him a cause of humiliation; the clear intellect which saw both sides of a question was but "darkened vision"; and even the natural wish to preserve his property from confiscation by his enemies assumed to his mind, at times, the form of inordinate desires after wealth and the things of the world. Whatever view may be taken of his action on certain great questions, there is not a single expression or sentiment from

beginning to end of his voluminous Diary that can be construed into insincerity in religion or unfaithfulness to the cause he had at heart.

The particular phase of religious life which prevailed at the time in which ALEXANDER BRODIE lived, has, in some of its outwards forms, passed or is passing away, but whatever its defects may have been, it did not lack in the essentials of earnestness and thoroughness. To the Christian men of that generation, evil presented itself as the work of the Devil. Two kingdoms were felt to be very near them—the Kingdom of Darkness and the Kingdom of Light: the darkness was all the deeper because of the clearness of the light. Life to them was a dire struggle both in its personal and spiritual aspects, whilst the outward affairs of the nation were full of troubles, perplexities, perils. That life in these circumstances should wear to them a somewhat sombre hue, tinging their whole thoughts and feelings, is not to be wondered at. In forming an estimate of these men, we must have regard to their prevailing character as a whole, to the objects they had in view, and to the spirit in which these objects were pursued. The horizon of one generation is not the horizon of another. Forms of thought and expression

change with the centuries. The importance and significance of things at one period may be quite different at another. The circumstances of the time have to be taken into account in judging of the character and work of the men and women of each generation, the one essential test being whether they have acted well or ill their part in the affairs of their own time—a test which the subject of this memoir will bear with no discredit or dishonour.

In truth, there was nothing in the religious life of the district as exemplified by Lord Brodie and his friends which was not commendable and praiseworthy, except perhaps an undue development of subjectiveness. Fanaticism and extravagance of any kind were wholly absent. They simply claimed the right to meet and have the Gospel preached to them by ministers they deemed faithful to principles formerly professed, whose teaching, moreover, was instinct with life and power. The attempt to drive such people into the kirk to be ministered to in spiritual things by men they had ceased to respect, was thoroughly irrational and unrighteous. What good could possibly accrue to a church filled with unwilling and unsympathetic worshippers? The folly of the persecution was conspicuous in

the case of a district where the people were otherwise loyal and peaceable.

The freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience for which LORD BRODIE and his friends contended, have now become the common heritage of the nation, with the addition of a larger spirit of toleration than was possible to them in the circumstances, and all honour is due to their memories in the stand they took at a critical time in the history of Scotland.

The series of LORD BRODIE'S religious reflections, given in a separate chapter, reveals the true inwardness of spirit of the man. In these casual comments of his, he shows singular insight and penetration into subjects which have engaged the minds of the thoughtful of all generations. Many of his aphorisms are indeed clean-cut gems of Puritan thought.

ALEXANDER BRODIE died in the year 1680, but the narrative is continued to the REVOLUTION, an event which forms the natural conclusion to the history of the period in which he and his friends figured.

No portrait of ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE is known to exist. An old print with the title "ALEXANDER BRODIUS," showing a handsome figure clothed in ermine robes, is to be

met with in the collections of old print-sellers. It was evidently meant to pass for a representation of Lord Brodie, but its genuineness as a likeness of him has been disproved by competent authorities, who have traced it to its original source—it is the portrait of a Scottish gentleman of a century earlier. We are thus left to form our conception of the man from his writings and the impression he made on his contemporaries.

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CHAPTER I.

BRODIE'S EARLY YEARS.

ALEXANDER BRODIE of Brodie was born on 25th July of the year 1617. He was descended from a family of very ancient origin. The earliest writ in which the name of Brodie is mentioned occurs in the year 1160, but there is evidence that the Brodies were in possession of the lands of Brodie at a still earlier date. They were made Thanes of Brodie by King Malcolm IV., and though bearing no hereditary title, the Brodies of Brodie have all along the line of history been ranked amongst the families of distinction and prestige in the country. In the middle of the Sixteenth Century, the Brodies had enlarged their bounds, and when David Brodie, the grandfather of Alexander Brodie, became the head of the house, a very large portion of the fertile lands in the western division of Moray and the eastern corner of Nairnshire belonged to Brodie of that Ilk or some member of his family.

Alexander, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of David Brodie, second of that name. His mother was a daughter of Thomas Dunbar, Dean of Moray, who had married a sister of the Admirable Crichton. Genius ran on the mother's side at least, and the love of learning inherent in her family may have had something to do with the boy Alexander having been sent to England to be educated when little more than ten years old, and kept at school there for five years without once returning to the parental home. It was the year 1628 when Alexander Brodie was sent to England, doubtless in the charge of the faithful steward of the house, one John Wyland, who had already served two lairds of Brodie and was destined to spend many long years under his young master. It was the England of the earlier years of the reign of Charles I., and the darkest hour of Protestantism had been reached. Archbishop Laud had well nigh re-established Roman Catholicism as the national religion of England, and the Puritans in thousands were leaving their own country for the American Colonies for the sake of religious liberty. It is unlikely a boy of ten years of age would have been much affected by the ferment of feeling prevailing, but as his years advanced he could not fail in receiving some impressions of the exciting struggle going on around him. We are not told to what part of England he was taken, nor are any of the circumstances of his school days once referred to in his writings, but we can have little doubt his upbringing and education were intrusted to guardians of approved Protestant and Puritan principles.

In the autumn of 1632, the house of Brodie was in mourning.

The Laird had died on the 22nd September of that year, at the comparatively early age of forty-six. The old steward, John Wyland, was despatched to England to bring home the young Laird, now a youth of fifteen years. His home-coming would have been sorrowful enough, for his father's memory was engraven on his heart, probably all the deeper because of the long separation.

Brodie House—or Brodie Castle, as it is now called—occupied the same position then as it does now, in the midst of a rich level country. The noble lines of trees which now screen the castle, the stately avenues, the spacious lawn, the ornamental lake, the pleasant garden, are the product and work of later years, but even at that date Brodie Castle, in the soft beauty of its surroundings, must have resembled some of the old English manor-houses with which the young Laird had become familiar during his sojourn in the South. The Castle itself, although little remains of the old walls to judge by, would doubtless have been one of the grim square keeps, with round towers, cap house, moat and draw-bridge—the type of castle common to that turbulent period in the Province of Moray. Though the external aspect of the Castle was stern and forbidding, Brodie had many friends to welcome him home. His neighbours were all either near relatives or kinsfolk, and his mother and younger brothers and sisters were there before him.

Alexander Brodie was too young to take up the responsibilities of his position all at once. His uncles, some of them lairds, others ministers in the neighbourhood, were only too glad to be of service to him in the management of his affairs, and he could always

depend upon his old steward to see that household matters were kept straight. Accordingly he went to College—first to St. Andrews and afterwards to Aberdeen for two sessions. Whatever knowledge he may have gained at St. Andrews, he learned to play golf on the links there—a game which he practised in his later years when health began to fail. From his own account, student life, among the wealthier young men at least, appears to have been of a rather rough, roystering character, and the dissipations of his University set were not quite to his liking, his retiring gentle disposition finding a more congenial sphere in domestic society. By the time he was eighteen years of age, he had fallen deeply in love with a charming young widow, the relict of Urquhart of Craigston, tutor of Cromarty. Brodie was an ardent wooer. The lady's first husband had been dead but a year and some months, and Brodie himself was not yet come of age. He applied for a dispensation to the Privy Council for serving him heir before his minority had expired. Without waiting for the tedious procedure of the law courts, he married the lady first and got the dispensation afterwards. In spite of his haste, he had made a most fortunate choice. Elizabeth Innes, whom he had married, was a daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Innes, one of the worthiest men of his time. Her mother, a pious excellent woman, was the youngest daughter of James, Earl of Moray, the "Bonnie Earl" of Scottish ballad, who was so foully murdered by Huntly, at the instigation, according to popular belief, of the King himself. She had stood, a little girl, by her mother in the Kirk of Leith beside the bleeding corpse of her father, the dagger

thrusts exposed to public view, and had joined in the cry wrung from her mother's stricken heart, "Avenge my cause, O God! Avenge my cause!" The daughter Elizabeth, who had married Brodie, brought with her no small share of the beauty of the family, and a double portion of its goodness. Her young husband was devoted to her, ever at her side planning and carrying out some new improvement in the castle or its grounds—oblivious, it would almost seem, in this elysium of his to the call of patriotism.

For Scotland in those very years was in a great commotion over the innovations of Laud and the persistent efforts of King Charles I. to subvert the Protestant constitution of the country. Brodie's name does not appear on the roll subscribed in person to the National Covenant in Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh on 1st March, 1638. He appears to have contented himself with adhibiting his name to some of the many copies carried throughout the North of Scotland or by standing in his place in the Kirk of Dyke and giving his adherence. To attribute its absence to indifference is inconsistent with what is known of his character and subsequent conduct; to suggest the lack of courage is a groundless insinuation, for it required more courage to abstain than to adhere to a Covenant which was in its widest sense national, including as it did the great body of the Scottish people of all ranks and classes. The National Covenant of 1638 was really the manifesto of the whole nation, and there were few true-hearted Scotsmen who were not Covenanters at this great crisis. Except the two or three Roman Catholic Peers, and the official members of the Privy

Council, all the nobles of Scotland were on the side of the Covenant, the great majority of them being active promoters of the movement. This remarkable unanimity was due to various circumstances. The Episcopal Bishops were personally far from popular, and the threatened innovations were regarded as a direct assault on the independence of the nation. The great body of the people had in addition an intense antipathy to the "Ceremonies," as they were called, looking upon their introduction as a prelude to the re-establishment of the Popish system, which their forefathers had overthrown. The parochial clergy, who exercised an enormous influence on public opinion, were almost to a man reformers, whilst the Town Councils of the Burghs, with the solitary exception of Aberdeen, were enthusiastic for the National Covenant. Whatever cause hindered the young Laird of Brodie from being present at the great historical assembly in Greyfriars Church when the National Covenant was adopted, it was not because he or his relatives were hanging back for fear of consequences, as no such risk existed. The Brodies were undoubtedly from the first strong supporters of the Kirk in its claim for freedom and independence, and remained stedfast in their loyalty to the cause they had espoused in the darkest days of trouble and oppression.

If national events did not disturb the serenity of Brodie's domestic life, an incident—and a very commonplace incident it was—threw him into the deepest distress. Brodie one day went down to the smithy at the village of Dyke, a few minutes' walk from his house. He was on business with the smith. The smith had been dilatory with some work he had intrusted to him. The Laird,

in high displeasure, lifted the bit of iron to take it away. The smith's wife interfered, and while holding her off, she stumbled and fell. She was carried home unconscious, and for many days lay at death's door. She appeared to be dying, and Brodie's wife got a declaration from her that he was free from blame, as her fall had been accidental—a declaration the woman for very sordid considerations appears afterwards to have repented of giving. By common consent of the countryside, the Laird of Brodie was an undone man. His condemnation was all the louder and stronger because of his being a righteous person—not an uncommon experience of many a good man. Previous good character was but an aggravation of the alleged offence in the eyes of the world. His punishment ought to be the greater because he was (or pretended to be) better than the generality of his neighbours. And then there was the Marquis of Huntly, who was in authority in the Province of Moray—he bore Brodie no great love, and would be only too glad of the opportunity of pursuing him with the utmost rigour of the law. What was poor Brodie to do in such circumstances? What he did was characteristic of the man, and of the type of man he represented. His own words are as quaint as they are pathetic—"When the Lord had broken my spirit into powder and made it willing to go to the scaffold, I did, in the faith of His Providence, upon my knees burn the woman's declaration, renouncing all carnal confidence of wit, policy, and wrong means, and committed my soul, life, estate, credit, family, the affliction and issue of it and the woman, to God." He had many days of deep exercise in humiliation and supplication, with

cries and tears, but on going to the Sacrament at Auldearn in deep submission he found, he says, "the Lord unspeakably and unutterably gracious in the ordinance," and on that very day, when he was in the act of Communion, the woman survived the crisis—she was safely delivered of a child, "when all men had taken them for dead." Brodie never forgot the deliverance. He ever regarded it as an answer to prayer. It deepened his trust in the providence of God.

A year later he had to face a still sorer trial. His beloved wife—"the light of his eyes," he calls her—died suddenly on 12th August, 1640. She had been the sun and centre of his life. The sad and unlooked-for bereavement plunged him into the deepest grief and melancholy. He refused to be comforted, and in his anguish of soul cried out against the Hand which had inflicted this, to him, the sorest of all trials; but the answer came back to him that He could strike with sorer rods than he had yet felt. The temptation to cast off all allegiance to God and to plunge into the dissipations of the world came upon him at times as a flood, and yet his soul shuddered and shrunk back lest he should be drawn into an experience so awful as that. In his terror he cried to God, and he relates how he heard a voice desiring him not to be disheartened or discouraged, "for He should make up his loss and give him as good as he wanted." To his excited feeling, the words appeared to be articulate and audible. He cried—"Lord, what can Thou give me? For children, house, another wife, estate, cannot make up for this. Nothing can do it but Thyself; if I may sanctify Thy name and may know and

enjoy Thee, it shall suffice." And the gracious truth was sealed to his heart. The intensity of his grief was overcome, though at times a feeling of despondency would return and cause him to seek relief in retirement to the heart of his woods. He had been left with a son and daughter—James and Grizzel—and they doubtless had a share in mitigating his sorrow, though with the reticence characteristic of the times regarding childhood, they are not once spoken of until they are well grown up.

Still another trial awaited him, to which the death of his wife was even less. The honour and good name of the house of Brodie were very dear to him, but the conduct of some members of his household had brought a reproach for the time upon its fair fame. In this new gulf of sorrow his spirit, he records, was humbled to the very dust.

It was out of this furnace of domestic trial and affliction that the Laird of Brodie, with a chastened spirit, emerged at the age of twenty-three to take part in the public affairs of the time. Looking back to this period of his life, some fifteen years later, he adds—"Whilst the Lord was doing this, He left me not destitute. He made every affliction to me a rose bed for smell and sweetness, and withal was adding to my outward estate, sometimes one thing, sometimes another." The social ties which had so long bound him to his Castle and his woods had at length to give way to the imperative demands of the times for patriotic service on the part of all good and true men in Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC LIFE.

THE first public action recorded of the Laird of Brodie is a proof of his zeal rather than of his discretion. The Elgin Cathedral had been allowed to become a roofless ruin. Its dilapidated condition was happily not due to any act of vandalism on the part of the Reformers. The noble pile was disused for public worship nearly seventy years before. It had become a quarry for neighbouring buildings and dykes. The old Laird of Lochloy, a near neighbour and relative of Brodie's, making his will in the very year of the incident about to be related, ordained "ane loft to be biggit within the kirk of Aulderne on the north side thereof, with the timber gotten of the Chanrie Kirk at Elgin!" A wooden partition dividing the choir from the church of the Cathedral, whereon was painted a representation of the Crucifixion and a picture of the Day of Judgment, was broken down by the young Laird of Brodie, his brother-in-law, the young Laird of Innes,

and the minister of Elgin, in December, 1640. The incitement to this particular action was probably the Act of Assembly passed at Aberdeen that year anent superstitious worship of idolatrous images. The dislike to symbolical representations of sacred subjects amongst the Scottish Puritans was intensified at this time by the attempt to bring back what were regarded as Popish practices and superstitions into the Kirk of Scotland. The country throughout its length and breadth was in a state of intense excitement over questions of ritual. Had not the King and his minion Laud been detected and thwarted in the very act of introducing a Popish Service Book, and had not the General Assembly at its famous meeting a few months before swept away the whole bench of Bishops and their Prelatic System and restored the old form of Presbyterian worship and polity? The Elgin screen with its pictures, however prettily painted, was an offence to these young hot-blooded zealots in the supreme moment of their enthusiasm and triumph.

Brodie and his Puritan friends were speedily called to more important work.

The National Covenant of 1638 had been accepted by nine-tenths of the people of Scotland. The Glasgow Assembly in the closing months of the same year had, with the approbation of the nation, abolished the Bishops, overthrown the whole system of Prelacy, which had existed, however, but for thirty years, re-established Presbytery as the form of Church government, and re-asserted the spiritual independence of the Church of Scotland. The victory had been complete, and the nation

appeared to be settling down to the enjoyment of its triumph, when the King and his friends set on foot plots and intrigues for the purpose of breaking up the harmony which prevailed. The Laird of Brodie in consequence became one of a Committee of Gentlemen of Moray who took up arms to preserve the peace in their district and to keep the Gordons in check. There was a good deal of marching hither and thither, but not much actual fighting. When the King concluded to make his peace with the Scottish Parliament and accepted the new order of things as inevitable, Huntly perforce had to call off his men.

In 1643, Alexander Brodie of Brodie was elected Member of Parliament for Moray, and he was also appointed the representative elder of the Presbytery of Forres to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. The Laird of Brodie, reflecting the feelings of the best men of his time, set out on his public career with three great principles—first, that the national religion of Scotland should be maintained in its purity and simplicity, as established at the Reformation ; second, that the King's authority in all civil matters be recognised and upheld ; and third, that personal religion be cultivated and promoted by all men within the realm. The watchwords were—Religion, King, and Country. There never was any question among these men as to the duty they owed to the King—they were Monarchists out and out—but should loyalty to the reigning sovereign ever clash with loyalty to God and His religion—(which God forbid !)—then they must let the King go. Amidst all the din and strife, contention and conflict, this is the issue at stake. Each man has to play his part

and the greatness of the drama lends dignity and interest to the actors. Brodie has gone to Edinburgh deeply imbued with these principles.

The General Assembly of that year was second in importance only to the Assembly of 1638, when the National Covenant had been subscribed. Brodie made the acquaintance of the great leaders and statesmen of the day. First and foremost—at least most conspicuous of all—was Archibald Johnston of Warriston, the great lawyer of the Patriotic party. He was really the originator of the National Covenant of 1638. That Covenant consisted of three parts—the first part was simply the old Covenant of 1580 reproduced; the second was a summary of the Acts of Parliament condemning the Papacy and ratifying the Confessions of the Church, drafted by Johnston of Warriston; and the third part embodied the renewal of the oath and covenant in reference to the circumstances of the time, namely, the innovations of Prelacy and the assertion of the royal supremacy, contrary to the constitution of the Reformed Church of Scotland and the laws of the realm, which was drawn up by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars. It was the Laird of Warriston who organised the movement for signing the National Covenant in the Greyfriars Church, and he it was in that ever-memorable scene in the Church who unrolled the parchment and read "in a clear, calm voice" the words of the charter of Scotland's liberty, in the hearing of the vast assemblage. Again, the figure of Johnston of Warriston is seen in the churchyard, spreading out his parchment on a large tombstone, and the people pressing

round him, eager to sign. Once more he is the central figure in the Glasgow Assembly, as he sits at the Clerk's desk, and with a few strokes of his pen, abolishes the Bishops and restores the old constitution to the Kirk of Scotland. The King from policy rather than from love had recently knighted him, and made him a Lord of Session, but Brodie finds him engaged in his old work, for a new Covenant is under consideration of the Assembly.

The Civil War had broken out in England. The conflict between the King and the forces of Parliament had been proceeding for some months. The Puritans of England looked to the Presbyterians of Scotland to help them, and suggested a treaty on the basis of civil liberty. The Scots insisted that the treaty should be primarily a joint agreement in regard to religion. The English gave way, and Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, the ablest ecclesiastical leader of Scotland, produced the Solemn League and Covenant—the most masterly of all the Covenants. The National Covenant of 1638 bound only the Scottish nation—the new Covenant bound the Protestants of England, Ireland, and Scotland, to support each other in defence of the "true religion." It does not impose upon England and Ireland the Presbyterian system, as is often stated. In its first article, it binds all the parties to it to endeavour to secure the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against their common enemies. It then goes on to engage the parties to endeavour to secure and preserve "the reformation of religion in England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and govern-

ment, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches," and to "endeavour to bring the churches of God in these three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight in the midst of us."

In this article we have embodied the lofty ideal of a united Protestant Church for the three kingdoms—a conception far transcending in moral grandeur any of the schemes for Church union in these latter days. In all probability this comprehensive union would have been accomplished had it been followed by an enactment for toleration of other sects. But Henderson and the Scottish Presbyterians had not risen to that height. The temper of the times was too keen. "If we do not suppress the common enemy, the common enemy will suppress us," was the view taken of the position of affairs. Accordingly, the second article ran that "we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness."

The third article binds the parties mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments and the liberties of the Kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom, "that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty and that we have no

thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness."

The fourth article binds the parties to endeavour to discover and bring to condign punishment all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king and his people, or one of the kingdoms from the other, or making any faction or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant.

The fifth article pledges to a firm peace between the kingdoms, and the concluding article formulates an engagement for mutual defence against their enemies, with a solemn pledge to amend their own lives and to seek to promote personal religion throughout these realms.

No nobler international treaty has ever been penned. It embodies the loftiest patriotic aspirations, and is couched in language of singular earnestness, sobriety, and dignity. It propounds a scheme by which the three nations could be united in the bonds of peace—one religion, one monarch, one kingdom. The National Covenant of 1638 is a document of prodigious length and excessive prolixity. It covers many pages of close print, and only the general drift and substance of it could ever have been known to thousands of those who signed it. The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 is short, terse, and unambiguous—a single sheet of notepaper originally contained it. This new Covenant was enthusiastically adopted by the English Parliament, as it had been also by the Scottish Estates, and it was thereafter promulgated as the fundamental charter of the

three kingdoms and its acceptance made obligatory. In course of a very short time, however, opposition was manifested to it from two opposite quarters. Its one radical defect—the want of a Toleration clause—was discovered by the Nonconformists of England. Although believing only in congregational government in the church, the English Independents had no objection to the new Church to be set up becoming the Established Church of England and receiving all the ecclesiastical endowments enjoyed by the Episcopal Church, but they contended for liberty of conscience and freedom of worship to those who remained outside. This claim—this very reasonable claim—sorely exercised the Presbyterians both of England and Scotland, who ultimately saw in it only a device for the encouragement of Popery, Prelacy, and heresy in its every form, and they absolutely refused to have anything to do with it. The strife was long and bitter. Had the principle been conceded, Presbyterianism, or something akin to it, would have become the form of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Established Church of England, with the approval and concurrence of two-thirds of the people.

The other objection to the new Covenant came from the Scottish Royalists, who disliked it on various grounds, but particularly as it appeared to restrict the King's prerogatives. The opposition to it was in reality purely political.

The Laird of Brodie both as a member of the General Assembly and of the Scottish Parliament signed the new Covenant, and gave in his adhesion to the party in Kirk and State whose views it represented. In the proceedings which

followed he became associated with the leaders of the National party, as it was entitled to be called, and became acquainted with Argyll, Loudon, Cassilis, Maitland, and Lothian. From his note-book, it appears that the Scottish divines whose ministrations he most frequented were Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Douglas, George Gillespie, and David Dickson—all men of eminence.

It is doubtful whether Brodie on this occasion met the Marquis of Montrose, as about this time the Marquis had found it convenient to remove from the Scottish Capital and betake himself to the King's Court in London. But in February, 1645, Montrose paid a visit to Brodie Castle in the absence of the Laird, and with the troops he had raised to promote the King's cause, plundered and burned the house, carrying off all the papers, writs, and valuables. Many of Brodie's friends and neighbours were dealt with in the same way. The mansion-house of Grange-hall (now Dalvey) shared the same fate. The house of Culbin —not yet overwhelmed by the sanddrift—was given to the flames. The Laird of Innes was known to be a good and wise man, and his house was also burned and plundered. The lands of Lethen, Burgie, and Duffus were wasted. The fishing village of Garmouth, because it happened to belong to the Laird of Innes, was set on fire and the fishing cobles destroyed. The march of Montrose through Moray and Nairn was marked by acts of wanton cruelty and barbarism. Rapine and plunder seemed to be the main object of Montrose's ragged, rascally regiment. And this attack on the peaceable dwellers in Moray came with a very bad grace from the

Earl of Montrose. It was he as much as any one who was responsible for the people of the district signing the National Covenant. Letters entreating those friendly to the Covenant to meet at Inverness on a given date had been sent into the district, and the first signature on the document, written in bold half text, is Montrose's own. Two of these letters still exist, one addressed to the Baron of Kilravock and the other to the Laird of Park. Montrose himself was one of the deputation who along with Andrew Cant visited Inverness, Forres, and Elgin for the purpose of obtaining signatures to the Covenant. The difference between the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant was hardly sufficient to justify Montrose's conduct. The explanation is that he had changed masters. He had broken with the leaders of the nation, as much on personal as on public grounds, and he was now acting as the King's Lieutenant, in the hope of causing a diversion on his behalf. Fortune seemed to favour his designs. His campaigns in the north were signalised by a series of brilliant victories. In the month of April he was back again in Moray, this time to face and fight an enemy in the open field. General Hurry, who had been sent out against him, having reinforced his army, advanced from Inverness to do battle with Montrose. The Marquis, passing the Laird of Brodie's door, crossed over into Nairnshire, and took up a strong position behind the village of Auldearn. His skill in the disposition of his troops so as to equalise their strength with the superior numbers coming against him is universally recognised. He fought without a centre, a standard and a few men having been

planted in front of the village protected by a marsh to deceive, while the main body of his troops was thrown into the right and left wings, with the purpose of closing in upon the attacking force when they assaulted the village. General Hurry, however, must have divined his intention, for he advanced to the attack in precisely the same order as Montrose had disposed his army. Things were going very badly for Montrose's right wing under command of Colkitto, who had ventured out into the open to fight and was driven back; but on the extreme left, when Montrose ordered Lord Gordon to advance, Hurry's cavalry in making a charge, or a feint at charging, suddenly wheeled round, and broke right through his own infantry supports, and before order could be restored out of the confusion caused by this movement, which it is alleged was treacherously conducted by Major Drummond, Lord Gordon and Montrose, with the whole horse and infantry forming the left wing burst upon them and swept the field, never halting until they had fallen upon and overwhelmed the right wing operating against Colkitto. No quarter was given by Montrose, and some 800 men of the Covenanters fell on the fatal field. Montrose's losses were comparatively light. The bulk of the Covenanters never fired a shot nor had a chance of doing so. The composition of the Covenanting army made the blow to be severely felt. Its ranks were filled, not with men picked up from here and there, but with families and groups of clansmen. The local registers record the death of the father and his five, six, or seven sons. An old family chronicle records—"Besides what fell unmarried, there were eighty-seven widows in

the lordship of Lovat." Montrose as usual sent out his men in bands to sack and burn the houses and waste the lands, and they did their work effectually. The Laird of Brodie's house was favoured with another visit, and any replenishing accomplished since the black 20th of February was taken away or destroyed. Referring to this period, the Laird of Brodie in his Diary states—"We fell before the Wild Irishes six times without interruption, and to mingle the Church's and the land's calamity with my private loss, my house and my mains and bigging was burnt to the ground and my estate made desolate, and no place left me, nor means to subsist." Some of these events are unknown to local history.

It is interesting to see how the Laird of Brodie and those he represented took their beating. The Battle of Auldearn took place on 9th April, 1645. On 6th August of the same year, Brodie addressed a Supplication to the Estates of Parliament, in the following dignified and chivalrous terms—"My Lords and others of the Estates of Parliament, I, your Lordships' servant, Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, humbly showeth—That whereas I am neither sorry nor ashamed to be brought before you in a case so singular, it is not my fault that I suffer, for except it should be called a fault to serve God and you, I know beside the testimony I may have within myself, I may and am confident of the testimony of this honourable House, that as they sit here with justice and reason, than what I have or may suffer in this cause in my person and estate is for a cause not less honourable and just than is the name and authority of this high court. Not I,

but the privilege of it, is more immediately striking and hinted at. I intend not to make this an apology or introduction to my losses. That they should at this time be thought upon, it were folly and shame to mention it while all the lands and estates you have is but enough to defend the head. The good success of your present intentions is of more value and will be dearer to any honest heart than a thousand of their lives. I make no mention of burning of houses, lands, corn yards, spoiling of goods and cattle. I only crave what is in your hand to give and the giving whereof may well augment but not diminish your treasury or authority. Your enemies are skilful to destroy. Amongst the rest in this common calamity, the writs and evidents whereby I have title to enjoy the small estate whereto I succeeded, are not in part but wholly destroyed. I am through this loss and destruction of writs, evidents, contracts, discharges, and others suchlike, exposed to a hundred, yea many years troubles and ploy. I have nothing to answer if anything be claimed, though never so unjustly. I have not title to claim nor ask from others, though with never so great reason or justice. My inconveniences are more than I can reckon or answer, and they offer themselves to any judicious eye. I humbly accept this at the hands of God and not choose. I would be sorry to have a distrustful, discontented thought; I resolved before this with the loss of life and all; though this and all losses had been presented to me and the cause to be entered upon of new, I would think it a great faintness or wickedness to lie by. Though I should thereby preserve all, I lay down all that I have at your feet;

I cannot escape false and unjust persutes if you bar them not; and if you make not my escape I cannot but perish. My humble desire is, that as the constancy and confidence of your servant is come to view, so it may please your Lordships to pass some Act of favour for my security, not only in my land and heritage, mill and multures, but to shut the door against all actions and persutes which upon this occasion may be intended, or heretofore has been depending against me, wherein I am heavily prejudged in the probation of my lawful defence by the burning of my writs and evidents. And if your Lordships' pressing affairs for the public do not spare so much, be pleased to remit the desire of your servant either to a particular Committee or to the Committee of Estates to be appointed to sit after the dissolving of this present session of Parliament to do therein as they shall think fitting, for securing me in manner foresaid, and according as I shall particularly demonstrate to the said Committee my particular sufferings and prejudices, through the burning of my said writs and evidents, as said is, as the supplication purports."

The Parliament at once remitted this reasonable request of the Laird of Brodie to the Committee of Estates, and in 1647 passed an Act of Ratification of the decree of the Committee, passed in May, 1646, in favour of Brodie, barring all actions against him, and further grants him a new charter to his lands, with benefit of the general Act that heritors of burnt and wasted lands should have exemption from public taxes for a time.

Montrose's army was crushed at Philiphaugh on 12th September, 1645. No one rejoiced more than Brodie did at the victory

of the Covenanters, and in the enthusiasm of the moment, he subscribed £2000 sterling to the War Fund, giving his own personal bond for the amount. But his troubles were not over. Early in the following year, Huntly led the Gordons into Moray and Nairn, and once more the halls and homesteads of the Covenanters in the district were sacked, leaving nothing to eat or sow in many places. The Laird of Brodie with a few of his men was in attendance at the Garrison at Inverness at the time of the entry of the Gordons, and his kinsmen all took refuge in the House of Lethen, belonging to his uncle. The Gordons laid siege to the place, which held out for twelve whole weeks, and only surrendered when their ammunition was spent and all hope of relief abandoned. It was money Huntly wanted, and he took a bond for £2000 from the Laird of Lethen payable to himself in case Lethen should not conform to the King's cause. Huntly knew pretty well the stuff the Laird of Lethen was made of, and had little doubt he would be able to cash the cheque. No sooner was Huntly off the scene than Lethen replenished his larder and fortified his house for a longer siege, with the blue banner flying from his topmost tower.

A letter from the Laird of Brodie to Mr Robert Douglas, minister at Edinburgh, at this time shows his unabated devotion to the cause he had espoused. Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, who had all along been a waverer and was suspected of treachery at the Battle of Auldearn, came to the front with a Covenant of his own. It was entitled "A Remonstrance against the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant." Taking

advantage of the earnest desire for the restoration of the peace of the country, Seaforth proposed that the King be invited to Scotland, without being obliged to subscribe the Covenants. Brodie received a copy of the Remonstrance, and considered it his duty to communicate it at once to the authorities at Edinburgh, as some honest men, he said, out of their simplicity were being led into subscribing it. He does not wish his name to be made more use of than his correspondent deemed necessary, but adds—"Not that I think shame or fear, for (except my life) man can do no more to me. Truly I make little account of all men if I may get the way of Christ followed and adhered to." The old note is still there, despite all the trials and tribulations he had endured.

CHAPTER III.

BRODIE'S OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

THE Laird of Brodie returned to his place in the Scottish Parliament and adhered loyally to Argyll's leadership during the protracted negotiations with the King on the one hand and the English Parliament on the other. When the Duke of Hamilton and his party made their ill-starred expedition into England to restore Charles I.—the last desperate effort of the Scottish Royalists—Brodie's calm judgment kept him clear of a movement which had undoubtedly a considerable amount of popular support in Scotland even amongst the Presbyterian lords and lairds. Whilst sharing in the feelings that prompted it—personal regard for the King and a hereditary love for the Scottish Monarchy—Brodie nevertheless recognised that it was a gross breach of the international agreement — the Solemn League and Covenant—come to between the two Kingdoms, and was virtually to cast to the winds the fruits of the long and

painful struggle to restore the King without his satisfying their claim for securities for the maintenance of the national religion. A good deal of pressure had been put upon Brodie to join his northern neighbours, but he never wavered, persuasions and threats alike failing. His uncle, Brodie of Lethen, for his refusal to join the "Engagement" had his houses burned and his lands wasted, evidently by the troops on their way South to accompany the Duke of Hamilton. A near neighbour and friend, the Baron of Kilravock, contrary to the traditions of his family, followed the fortunes of the Duke of Hamilton in this expedition, and had cause to rue it for many a day. The disastrous fate which overtook the expedition at Preston on 17th August, 1648, when in a three days fight it was cut to pieces by Cromwell's troops, justified the view of its futility and subsequent events showed its impolicy.

Cromwell came to Edinburgh in October 4, and remained there four days in consultation with Argyll and the leaders of the Covenanting party, who were again in power. There is every probability that Brodie became personally acquainted with Cromwell during his stay in Edinburgh. Brodie was by this time one of the advisers of the Government and a trusted friend of the Kirk. The result of Cromwell's visit was that he received an assurance from the Government that the "Engagers," the wreck of the Army that had escaped to Scotland, would be dealt with as malignants and deprived of all power of further mischief-making by being declared incapable of holding any civil trust or military command in the country—a stipulation produc-

tive of untold evils in Scotland, and to the enforcement of which Brodie in later years refused to be a party.

From expressions in his writings at a later period, it is evident that the course followed by the Scottish Commissioners, by instructions from home, to avert the execution of Charles I. met with Brodie's entire approval and support. Though not Royalists in the English sense, his party were sincerely attached to the Monarchy and had quite as much aversion to the sectaries and extremists of England as they had to the Prelates and Papists. If the King had only embraced the Kirk of Scotland then all would have been well. No responsible statesman in Scotland desired a Republic or Commonwealth in Scotland. Accordingly a few days after the execution of Charles I. the Scottish Parliament proclaimed Charles II. King of Great Britain, declaring, however, that before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power he shall give satisfaction to the Kingdom in those things appertaining to the security of religion, the union betwixt the two Kingdoms, and the good and peace of Scotland according to the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. The proclamation was made at the Cross of Edinburgh on 5th February, 1649. The Laird of Brodie was chosen one of the four Commissioners to treat with the young King, and was despatched forthwith on this mission to the Hague where Charles was residing with his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange.

Brodie and his fellow Commissioners sailed from Leith on 16th March for Rotterdam. The skipper of the ship was one Captain John Gillespie, and they had also the services of Peter

Sympson, a Dutchman, perhaps a North Sea pilot. The four Commissioners were the Earl of Cassillis, George Wynram of Libberton, Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, and the Laird of Brodie, and they were accompanied by two ministers appointed by the General Assembly, Mr James Wood of St. Andrews, and Mr Robert Baillie of Glasgow. Sir Joseph Douglas had preceded them. This was not the first mission of state the Earl of Cassillis had been engaged in. He was one of the Commissioners who had presented the Solemn League and Covenant to the English Parliament at Westminster, and had been successful in having had it accepted and ratified. He was a staunch Presbyterian and Covenanter throughout all the troubles. Mr Baillie, too, had been employed in important public service. He had been one of the Scottish Commissioners at the Westminster Assembly, and had but lately returned bringing with him the Westminster Confession of Faith and other documents which were to form the standards of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. His "Letters" form an important contribution to the literature of the period.

They found the young King had a scheme of his own quite different from theirs. His plans were to go first to Ireland, and with the forces he could gather there to proceed to Scotland, and with the Irish and Scots joined together fight his enemies in England and establish his right to the Crown. He would listen to no proposals of his accepting the Scottish Covenants as a preliminary, but he went so far as to offer to conform to the Directory of Worship of the Scottish Kirk while in Scotland.

This, of course, would not do. The negotiations failed. Brodie and his fellow Commissioners returned to Scotland, and Parliament approved of their actings.

In February of the following year Charles II., having fallen upon evil days, changed considerably his attitude towards the overtures of the Scottish Parliament. His visions of armed conquest of England had vanished; the friends who had surrounded him at the Hague when his prospects seemed bright had by this time forsaken him; his money was wasted, his health indifferent, and unkindest cut of all, his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, had virtually turned him out of his Court, to shift for himself. George Wynram had met Charles at Jersey, and found him penniless—his brother and he (he wrote), had not an English shilling between them. Charles now made approaches to the Scottish Parliament, and Brodie was again chosen one of the Commissioners—this time both by the General Assembly and the Parliament—and thither he proceeded along with his former colleagues, Lord Cassillis, Provost Jaffray, and Mr Wood. The new members of the Commission were Lord Lothian, Sir John Smith, a Lord of Session, and Mr Livingstone as clerical representative in room of Mr Baillie. Arrived at Breda, where they found Charles living in straitened circumstances, they presented the conditions of the Scottish Parliament. These were simply that he should accept the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant.

The negotiations of the Treaty of Breda present elements of a morally tragic character. On the one side are the Puritan

delegates of the Parliament, grave, good, well-meaning, patriotic men, having serious views of life and concerned above everything for what they believed to be the true religion—the only religion befitting their beloved country — and yet they were intensely solicitous to have a King to rule over the nation as in the days of yore—a King to sit on the Scottish Throne they wanted, but that King must rule and reign in the fear of the Lord. He must become one with themselves in support of the Covenants, eschewing Popery and Prelacy and all superstitious devices in religion, from which happily for the time the country was delivered.

There stands before them the young Prince, the rightful heir to the Throne, an uncrowned King, having much of the regal bearing and gracious manner of the Stuart family, with a good-natured frankness all his own—prepossessing he would have been, but that his countenance and demeanour revealed all too plainly that he had lost the bloom of his youth in the dissipations of a corrupt and dissolute Court life. His independence of character, like his innocence, was gone; his hunted look, his shabby dress, told their tale of abject poverty and embarrassment. Charles's fortunes were at their lowest ebb when the Commissioners and he met at Breda to treat concerning the Crown of Scotland.

What was Charles to do? He had no wish to be hampered in the exercise of his kingly prerogatives by Kirk or Parliament, and no desire to lead the strict moral life these subjects of his had in their minds for him; and deep down in his heart, libertine and

scapegrace though he was, he felt probably most of all the pang of having to desert and disown the Church and faith in which he had been nurtured and brought up. It was the supreme moment, the great crisis of his life. To sign these Covenants which he hated would gain him the Crown and the position he so passionately longed for, but henceforth he would be a perjured forsworn man. He parleyed with the temptation. Would it not be sufficient for him to give his verbal promise without requiring of him his oath and his signature? The Commissioners adjourn to consider the proposal, but they come, one and all, to the conclusion that the word of a Prince is not so binding as his signature, and in a matter of State of such tremendous importance, it behoved them to have the highest securities and guarantees of good faith.

If Charles had his scruples, the Commissioners were not without their difficulties. It was evident to all of them that the young man had the utmost aversion to sign the articles which had been placed before him, and if he did so, it would be because he could not help it. Was it right?—was it not sinful to allow the Prince in these circumstances to do violence to his conscience? Could any good come out of a transaction so palpably wicked? Brodie had the manliness and honesty to divide the Council of the Commissioners on the point. He wanted to break off the negotiations, and to proceed no further with a transaction so flagrantly dishonest and dishonourable on both sides. He was supported in this view by Mr Jaffray, who had spoken privately to the Prince on this subject, beseeching him not to sign the

Covenants if in his conscience he was not satisfied he was doing right. The ministers also were of the same opinion. But the other Commissioners took a different view. It would be doing them an injustice to suppose that they winked at the moral wrong about to be perpetrated, and they probably argued thus—"If the Prince be once legally bound, he will be morally obliged to adhere." It was one of the delusions of the time that the Prince's defection to the national cause was due to the counsel of evil companions—once placed under the influences of the Kirk and its gospel-preaching the last taint of Romanism and evil desire will be removed from his heart. The Commissioners came to a vote—Lord Lothian, Wynram, and Sir John Smith voted for the King's signature being accepted if he should give it. The Earl of Cassillis, as Chairman, had no vote, and the ministers had no voice in the matter, their function being purely advisatory. Brodie and Jaffray alone supported the motion for breaking off the negotiations, and they were thus out-voted. It was a turning point in history.

The Prince, becoming alarmed lest he should after all be left in exile, and now in a reckless mood, was ready to sign anything. The die was cast. He swore faithfully to observe the Covenants, and signed his declaration of adherence to them, and thereupon was handed the invitation by the Estates of the Scottish Parliament to be their King, which he joyfully accepted. He had won a kingdom, but had lost his honour.

Provost Jaffray records in his journal that he too simply and implicitly followed the judgment of others, "holy and good men

that were there," and adds, "but the Lord taught me in this and in many things of that nature, not so implicitly to depend on men." Brodie's after-reflections were of the same kind. He wrote in his Diary in the year 1655:—"I know not if our success with the King was of mercy; yet if his heart had been right, I would have counted it so; and I did judge we were about our duty in dealing with him; yet in all this he discovered much disaffection to the course of reformation, to godliness, to those who profess it, and retained his affection and respect to his old company and courses, and approved his father's ways in his heart, nay, in his discourse. Now what our duty should have been in this case I know not; but I am apt to judge that we were carnal, hasty, inconsiderate, nay, we feared and apprehended the evil that was to come upon these lands. Now, wherein I ignorantly failed, let Him not lay it to my charge."

But Brodie loyally joined with his fellow Commissioners in completing the arrangements. It was he who drew up the papers on behalf of the State, and acknowledged in courtly terms the King's acceptance and subsequent explanations, having penned the latter document on board the Dutch galleon, "The Skiedam." Although he had taken a very strict view of the duty of the Commissioners, Brodie was evidently a *persona grata* with Charles and his advisers. Brodie in latter years, in referring to this episode in his career, rather blames himself for having been too free with Lauderdale and other friends of the King in their amusements. "When I went to Holland, I engaged not to be familiar with Lauderdale, Duke, and others, yet I was almost

stolen off my feet; and if the Lord had not been merciful and pardoned, I might have perished. Alas! my heart was not so fixed against familiarity with these men as Mr Jaffray, Cassillis, Livingstone, Hutcheson, and others."

Money was needed for the preparations for the King's departure from the Continent to enter upon his Kingdom, but his coffers were empty. The Commissioners had received a letter of credit for £300,000, but the Kingdom of Scotland, alas! had no credit abroad, and Brodie, Cassillis, and Lothian had to give their personal security to some merchants at Campvere for 100,000 merks borrowed for the King and Court's expenses!

Brodie had been absent in Holland from the middle of March till the end of June. The voyage to Holland had been very pleasant, all the omens, or providences, as Brodie would say, favourable, and the return journey was equally prosperous.

At a meeting of the Scottish Parliament on 1st July, Brodie and Wynram made a full relation of all their negotiations with his Majesty; they produced the Covenant, with the Church's explanations, subscribed by his Majesty. They likewise exhibited to the House four articles from the Commissioners with the King, to be solved and considered by the Parliament. The House passed an Act of Approbation of the Proceedings of the Commissioners, and voted the hearty thanks of the Kingdom to them for their faithfulness and diligence in this matter.

A further honour was paid to the Laird of Brodie. He was made a Lord of Session. The appointment was a proof of the

high estimation in which he was held by the statesmen of the time, as having had no legal training, he could have had no professional claim to such a post. His calm judicial turn of mind, as well as his rectitude of character, eminently fitted him for an office of the kind, and it was not deemed essential in those days that a Senator of Justice should be learned in the law. He was thereafter styled Lord Brodie.

By a curious circumstance, the ship which carried the King and the Commissioners to Scotland, arrived off the coast of Moray, the County which Brodie represented in Parliament. To avoid the pursuit of Cromwell's cruisers, they had sailed north and made for the mouth of the Spey, and when the King was carried ashore on the back of a fisherman named Milne, on the beach at Garmouth, the house Charles was taken to was that of Brodie's brother-in-law, the young Laird of Innes, who along with his wife was happily there to meet and entertain him.

The announcement of the King's arrival was received throughout Scotland with great rejoicing, any expressions of doubt and dissastisfaction being drowned in the din of popular applause. Lord Brodie was deputed by the Parliament to meet and congratulate His Majesty on his happy arrival in the Kingdom, and as one of the Senators of Justice, though not yet formally installed, he was present at the coronation of Charles at Scone on New Year's Day. Although the great body of the nation was delirious with excitement over the advent of the King, the wiser heads amongst the public men of the day did not forget to impose the conditions upon which he was invited and received.

Already on board ship he had sworn to the Covenants—according to some accounts, a second time in the Laird of Innes's house at Garmouth—and in the Kirk of Scone, in presence of the nobles and representatives of the nation, he renewed his oath of adherence to the Covenants. First, the National Covenant and then the Solemn League and Covenant were read over to him, and after solemn prayer, the Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, with a deputation of the ministers of the Kirk standing beside him, administered the oath to the King, who kneeling and lifting up his right hand did swear :—"I, Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant and of the Solemn League and Covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I, for myself and successors, shall consent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterial government, the Directory for Worship, and Confession of Faith, as they are approven by the General Assemblies of this Kirk and Parliament of this Kingdom; and that I shall give my royal assent to acts and ordinances of Parliament, passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." Nothing could be more emphatic or explicit.

On the King ascending to the Chair of State, he was presented to the assemblage. "Are you not willing to have him for your King?" the Lord Marshal demands. To which the nation's representatives respond with loud acclamation—"God Save the King, Charles the Second!" The Coronation Oath framed in his grandfather's time—a promise to maintain the reformed religion—is read over to him, and sworn to and accepted by him. Charles is then invested with the royal robes by the Lord Chamberlain, and the Sword of State is presented to him by the Lyon-King-at-Arms, with the adjuration—"Receive this kingly sword for the defence of the faith of Christ and protection of His Kirk, as it is presently professed within the Kingdom, and according to the National Covenant and League, and for executing equity and justice, and for punishment of all iniquity."

Charles is thereafter girded with the Sword of State by the High Constable, and his spurs are put on him by the Earl Marshal. The crown is placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle, and the sceptre put in his hand by the Earl of Crawford. The nobles and representatives swear allegiance to him:—"We will live and die with you against all manner of folks whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant," say they. And when the King was presented to the people outside the Kirk they shouted with one voice—"God Save the King!"

The Coronation ceremony was a brilliant and impressive function, and if Charles had been sincere it would have been a glorious day for Scotland. Lord Brodie, looking on, no doubt

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hoped for the best, but knowing as he did the King's real sentiments, he must have had his doubts and fears as to how it was all going to turn out. In token of his professed regard for Brodie, the King presented him with a portrait of his late father, King Charles I., by Vandyke, which still adorns the drawing-room of Brodie Castle.

In truth, it was all wretched masquerade. The King was well-nigh bored to death by the interminable preachments of his Puritan Councillors; they were soon shocked and scandalised by the levity and licentiousness of their newly-crowned King. Oliver Cromwell's re-appearance on the scene put an end to an utterly incongruous and embarrassing situation. All hasten to repel the advance of Cromwell's army. Forsaking for the time his judicial seat in the Parliament House, Lord Brodie throws himself with ardour into the military preparations. In October, 1650, he had acted as Commissary-General to the Army. His relative, Brodie of Lethen, had led a contingent South to help the King, and took part in the conflict at Eastwick and commanded a troop at the disastrous Battle of Dunbar. When the Scots Army fell back to Stirling and was greatly in want of money, Lethen, at Lord Brodie's promptings, gave the Estates considerable pecuniary assistance. They again take the field.

A number of Brodie's kinsmen and tenants were at the Battle of Worcester when Cromwell finally crushed the King's forces, and put the King to flight. Cromwell carried several of them prisoners to London. They were ultimately liberated, and returned to their native parish of Dyke. One man only was

unaccounted for. His wife was not quite certain whether she was a widow or not, but informed the Presbytery of Forres at their meeting on 30th January, 1652, that she was credibly informed that her husband, Thomas Williken, who went South as a soldier, being carried prisoner from Worcester to London, died there at Spitalfields. She desired permission to marry again. The Presbytery appointed the minister of Dyke to examine witnesses on the point, and at next meeting he reported that Colin Dunbar in Moy, William Edie in Dyke, and Robert Simpson in Brodie, declared that they were all present in Spitalfields, when Thomas Williken, late husband to Margaret Falconer in Mundole, departed this life, and saw him carried to burial. So Margaret was free to contract another marriage. As regards the Lord Brodie, Cromwell superseded him as a Senator of Justice, and he returned to the North.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ENGAGEMENT CONTROVERSY.

ALTHOUGH its King was once more in exile, Scotland, had it been united, would soon have recovered the loss of prestige involved in the events that had occurred, but, unfortunately, its public men were divided into factions. The old controversy regarding the treatment due to those who had taken part in the Duke of Hamilton's disastrous "Engagement" had never quite died down. The Moderator of the Assembly (the Rev. Robert Douglas), in his sermon at the coronation of Charles adverted to the contention amongst certain of the brethren in regard to this matter, and counselled toleration of those who professed repentance of their former course. The opposite party, however, did not take his advice, and were for absolutely disqualifying one and all of the "Engagers" for public service. They did not believe their repentance was sincere—some of them adding, any more than your King's profession of faithfulness to

the Covenants is sincere. The General Assembly was split into two parties—the "Resolutioners" in favour of the more moderate course; the "Protestors" for no toleration of Engagers, or Malignants, as they termed them. Lord Brodie's closest friends, as a whole, were with the Protestors, and he himself disapproved of what he considered unconstitutional procedure in the Assembly towards the Protesting body, and voted in the Synod of Moray on a motion to that effect. But on the main question he felt he could not go the length his friends went. He thought it was contrary to public policy and equity to disqualify so many of his countrymen for all time coming for the single mistake they had made in joining the Engagement. At the same time he was not prepared to go over to the party in power—the Resolutioners. His characteristic moderation pleased neither party, least of all the Protestors.

Although Lord Brodie had no longer any official duties to perform in Edinburgh, he was back again amongst his old friends in the beginning of May, 1653. It is interesting to find him in friendly consultation with Robert Leighton, the saintly minister of Newbattle. They had much in common. Both alike were animated by a spirit of fervent piety; both believed that righteousness lay at the root of personal and national character. But they differed widely as to the application of their principles to public affairs. Circumstances had made Brodie a man of affairs. Leighton had lived apart and cherished lofty ideals.

"I spoke with Mr Leighton," writes Lord Brodie in his Diary, 24th May, 1653. "He did show me that the composing

of our differences was not a harder task than the finding out the Lord's mind by them, both the procuring and final cause. He thought holiness, the love of God and our brethren, was the chief duty God was calling us unto, and sobriety and forbearance to one another. He knew not if it were not from his natural temper or something of the English air, but he thought it was the safest to incline *mitiorem partem.* "Much persecution was there upon imposing upon one another, as if we were infallible, allowing none that differed from ourselves in the least measure. He thought the Lord would break that which we would so fain hold up, our Judicatories; he had observed so much of our own spirit in them these many years past, that he had loathed them for the most part, and wearied of them."

Brodie replied that he thought the Church Courts these three or four years were much deserted and without that presence of God in them which was sometimes observed. Their differences were the cause, and he prayed God to guard their hearts against that to which they were inclined, such as an indulging and counting light of errors and heresies, on the one hand, and on the other against a blind spirit of sinful untenderness.

The further conversation between the two is thus recorded by Brodie:—

Leighton—These differences should make the hope of heaven the sweeter.

Brodie—That is true, yet so as not to weary here or be hasty.

Leighton—That is the more venial extreme, if any are venial, and better than any love of the world.

Brodie—One grain of the world's love is more burdensome than a hundred grains of untimeous desires after heaven.

Leighton—Deferred hope breaks the heart. If the saints knew the advantages and final causes of their differences and trials they would rather the trials. And, indeed, I think the sweet trust of a sanctified trial is to see mercy in it for correcting our quarrelling and advantage which would make us love the Lord better, and so say—"In faithfulness Thou has afflicted me and it was good for me," &c. Though we may not love the sin, yet we may admire and love and adore Him that can extract good to us and glory to Himself out of our very infirmities and sin.

When Brodie and Leighton met again it was in very different circumstances. The fragrance of Leighton's spirituality seems to have lingered with Brodie, for a few days later he appeared amongst his old compatriots as an apostle of peace. He had a rude awakening, however. The leading Protestors had come to Edinburgh, and Lord Brodie, Mr Robert Blair, minister of St. Andrews, and Mr James Durham, one of the ministers of Glasgow, went to meet them at Johnston of Warriston's chambers, and exhorted them "to ways of peace and union." Samuel Rutherford was there, and retorted that he had heard much of peace with men, but would like better to hear of a peace with God and taking with sin, that His wrath might be turned away, without which a patched peace would be little effectual. Warriston also spurned all moderating counsels, remarking that the truth was either on the one side or the other, and therefore the neutrals

were as far wrong as any of them. Brodie and his friends, though repulsed were not discomfited, and Blair told Brodie an experience of his own in which he had as much enlargement and sense of the presence of God in his undertaking a journey to New England as ever he had, and yet he found ere the journey was half done that it was not the Lord's mind that he should go, but rather that he should stay at home and suffer affliction.

If Brodie was sorry he could not go as far as his old friends, they were extremely reluctant to lose him, and accordingly a few days later a deputation of the Protestors waited upon him. These were Samuel Rutherford and Sir John Chiesley of Kerswell, a zealous Protestor. Lord Brodie has left a very graphic account of the interview.

Samuel Rutherford said they were come to lay claim to him in the Lord's name, and desired him to appear for the way wherein the Lord had led them and blest them for many years.

Brodie answered—I behove to say with shame that I was never forward nor foremost in anything that was good; and if in anything I was dark, I could not be truly humbled under it until the cloud past over.

Rutherford then spoke of the Association and the usefulness of it, and that the Word did not hold out a difference betwixt conjunction and association in defensive and offensive war; that what was unlawful in the one was unlawful in the other. Israel for self-defence might not take idolators.

Brodie answered that in that he differed, for he could not find any word or warrant from God to bind up the hands of men

from their own defence, when their liberties, life, estate, and dearest natural interests were invaded.

Rutherford replied—Light of nature is no rule for a Christian man ; he has something dearer to him than these. When religion and the people of God could not be preserved but with the loss of men's natural interests the one must give place to the other, otherwise excommunicated men and Papists and idolaters could not be debarred.

Sir John Chiesley remarked—All men admit that some even in these cases, should be restrained, and will not admit of all.

Brodie answered that he could not condescend what cautions and limitations were necessary upon this law of nature, but the hazard or consequence to the work or people of God, might not be a ground to debar from a natural and moral duty.

Rutherford—The debarring of these and such men is a moral duty, opposite to that light of nature, self-defence.

Sir John Chiesley—Who dare say that we may with a safe conscience set up wicked persecutors to the helm ?

Brodie—I do acknowledge it is a perpetual and eternal truth and duty for us to labour to set up the best of men as rulers over us. But where either there are not such men, or where we have not the physical power and calling to set them up, as among heathens, or the generality of a corrupt people or land, there it were our duty to vote and endeavour to choose the best of the society ; but, where we cannot carry it, I hold myself bound to choose and aim at the best, but to reverence and submit to the ordinance of government, albeit Providence in the call or election

should set up wicked men unfit and unworthy to govern. I would consent, if I lived among Pagans, to choose a Pagan ruler where I could attain no Christian ruler, rather than live without government, and so living among wicked men.

Sir John Chiesley and Rutherford assented to the case of Pagans, but were not clear with Brodie in the rest.

Brodie (continuing) said that wherein the Commission of the Kirk did vary from this rule and duty, in consenting to the choice of wicked men, or in taking away the restraints which held out wicked men, they sinned. How far their hand was in this he knew not. Next, he said, he was dissatisfied with the bulk of public proceedings. The scum of men were gotten up to places of government, and had they prospered we might have looked for sore days to the work and people of God in both these lands, for most of them had an enmity at all appearance of godliness. Nay, to set up these again by French, Dutch, Irish, &c., he durst not consent to it, nor desire it of God, but rather beseech him not to grant men their lust or desire in this, for if matters be ill now, it would be worse.

Rutherford said that was all they desired.

Brodie said the Commission of the Kirk and some of their chief members did disavow the proceedings of Parliament in this.

Rutherford replied—What did they against it? Did they show the Lord's mind in it?

Brodie said they declare they did.

Rutherford said he prayed to be kept from closing with malignants or the present power. Who would go under a house

when it was falling? So many testimonies of God's anger against them, and shall we involve ourselves in their sin, and so partake of their judgment? God forbid. He prayed the Lord to declare who sought Him in truth and singleness of heart, and to be kept from joining with Lutherans, &c.

Although the controversy was thus keen and sharp, it was characteristic of the men that they engaged together in prayer, no doubt Samuel Rutherford leading the devotions. After prayer, the disputants came to a conclusion over the matter.

Lord Brodie said—As to the business you have spoken of to me, I shall say this. Although I differ and come not up to see so clearly in these things as other men, it is my burden; yet my heart is with you. I shall be loth to be upon a contrary side. I must wait. And in the meantime, not for my cause, but for the Lord's name that called on me, be instant with Him on my behalf, that I may be to His praise in my generation and may not deny His name or truth.

Sir John Chiesley replied—It would much rejoice us that you would write to them, and testify what you said to us, that you dislike the bulk of proceedings.

Rutherford pressed him further. Though you differ in some things, as there is difference among ourselves, anent, first, the nullity of the Assembly, and secondly, defence, &c. Yet if you be satisfied in the chief things it were a great honour to the Lord to witness for one truth of his.

Brodie answered—God willing, with the first occasion, I shall

declare all that I have spoken to you, both to any of your number and to those of the Assembly.

Sir John said he had been much pressed to seek the Lord on his behalf, and he believed the Lord would do him good.

Brodie answered that it was his chief and only desire that his tongue, heart, hand, pen, life, and all, might be to His glory. He counted that his greatest honour, but he knew not if ever He would honour him to be for Him all his days.

So they parted. When they went away, Brodie bowed before the Lord desiring light and strength, and above all to be delivered from the sin of denying Him in that truth, if it was the truth.

The subject occupied his mind very much, but the more he reasoned it out, the more confirmed was he in his own view. To the objection that by putting power in the hands of wicked men he gave them occasion to overturn the work and cause of God and to persecute the people of God, his answer was—"that was but a consequence; if it was a moral duty to defend themselves, they should not be prohibited to exercise that duty for the land, and for their own dearest natural interests. Were a wicked man our son, our brother, nay, a stranger, pursued by a company of robbers, whether were it good arguing—he is a wicked man, he must not defend himself nor draw a sword; nay, I will not help nor relieve him, nor endeavour to do it, because he has done and may do much mischief if he escape. Shall the Protestants in Germany and France not join in common defence of their country with Papists, Lutherans? Have they ever refused to join in armies on this account, for opposing the Turk

or other common enemies, or in a land where the twentieth part is not Protestant or Christian, and nineteen parts idolaters?"

Brodie concludes that it may be a matter to exercise Christian prudence how far to make use of the body of the land in a common invasion, but he was satisfied there was no prohibition to the contrary.

CHAPTER V.

RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

A FEW days after the controversy with Samuel Rutherford and other leaders of the Protestation, Lord Brodie decided to retire from the troubled waters of public life, and seek in the domestic circle of his own home that peace and repose which were so congenial to his disposition. He turned his back on Edinburgh and his old colleagues—some of his enemies said he had turned his back on his principles as well. The taunt of his old friend Warriston that he would either come a step nearer them or a step further from them in defection, was still in his ears. Could it be true that in forsaking his friends he was abandoning his principles? Was he in God's sight a traitor to His cause? Such questions disturbed him greatly on his journey homeward. Sunday found him in Aberdeenshire, still two days ride from Brodie. He attended the church of Clatt in Alford, and there underwent one of those intense spiritual struggles so

characteristic of the Puritan character. He himself regarded his experiences at that place as forming a crisis in his spiritual life. With the keenness of the dissecting knife, he went to the very root of his character. He was perfectly conscious of his natural tendency towards moderation, and, realising this, his heart was filled with gloom and despair. "This moderation," he exclaims, "is not of the Lord, springs not from holiness, but is contrary to it and will cut the throat of holiness and will turn all religion to nature. And the next step will be to hate those that are zealous and fervent for the Lord's glory and in hating of every wickedness and evil, for he must condemn those that are not of his temper"—a very shrewd observation. He felt also that the applause he had received from worldly men in taking up the position he had done was a snare—yea, almost a sign that he was in the wrong. "It is not for nought that all men speak good of me and love me—it is because I have ceased to testify against the things that are evil." "Striving at civility and humanity may, if the Lord prevent not, cost me the loss of Thy favour, imperil my own soul, and cast me into the pit of hell." Such were some of the hard thoughts Brodie entertained of himself and his moderation. To deliver himself from these temptations, he once more dedicated himself to the Lord, vowing that come weal or woe he should follow Him, loving what He loved, and hating what He hated. At even there was peace. We read—"In the close of the day, the Lord seemed to visit me and incline towards me in dissolving my soul into desires and affections after His name—His so precious name that then was

more fragrant and sweet to me than roses or any costly ointment or perfume." "Remember Clatt!" became a watchword.

Unawares to him, a great temptation was even then on the wing. It was but a three days' journey behind him on his progress northward. The messenger only just missed overtaking him on the road with a summons from Oliver Cromwell —a letter offering him an important and lucrative appointment in London. Will his vows and dedications against the spirit of worldliness now hold good? Or is Lord Brodie really a trimmer and a weakling? Events will answer the question.

As we have seen, it is exceedingly likely that Lord Brodie met with Cromwell during the three days' visit the Protector paid to Edinburgh in 1648. He was latterly on terms of intimacy and friendship with Cromwell's leading military and civil officials in Scotland, and was constantly being appealed to by the Protestors and others to use his influence with them for this favour and the other, and his amiable disposition is shown by the ardour and zeal with which he takes up the cause of the oppressed and injured, from which ever side the request comes. Whether from personal knowledge or official information, Cromwell recognised in Lord Brodie a man of capacity, intelligence and worth, whose services it would be desirable to secure, if possible, in the interests of the Commonwealth. Cromwell's success in administration and government was largely due to his unerring instinct in the selection of his agents both at home and abroad. At this time the project of an integral union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland was occupying his mind, and

his request to Lord Brodie was to come to London as a Scottish Commissioner to treat with him to that end. Each weekly post brought Lord Brodie letters of advice, some urging him to accept the offer, others warning him against the English employment. One of these was from Provost Jaffray, his fellow Commissioner at the Hague and Breda, strongly persuading him to accept, as he himself had done. Johnston of Warriston, on the other hand, warned Brodie against the snares of the English employment, and sent him a copy of a pamphlet he had written on the subject. Samuel Rutherford had also published a tractate on the same subject, entitled "A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience," a copy of which Brodie perused. The Marquis of Argyle, Brodie's political chief, was also strongly opposed to recognising Cromwell's rule, feeling he was bound in loyalty to the exiled King, and the utmost length he would go was to give an assurance that he would abstain from disturbing the public peace. Good old James Guthrie also wrote Brodie in affectionate terms to stand fast in the old ways. The drift of the arguments against Union was that, by incorporation they would tie themselves to the Commonwealth of England without any security that the religion and liberties of Scotland as a nation would be maintained, and that it would be a breach of the old Covenants they had sworn, both as regards their duty to the Scottish Kirk and their allegiance to the Scottish King. The Scottish Covenanters were, in fact, moderate men, and abhorred the wild extravagancies of the English Sectaries as much as they did the lawlessness of the Malignants.

Brodie's view of the personal situation is expressed in the exclamation recorded in his Diary a few days after receiving Cromwell's citation :—"Oh, Lord, I have met with the lion and the bear before, but this is the Goliath ; the strongest and greatest temptation is the last !" Good man that he was, he believed in the value of prayer as a source of light in perplexity and darkness, and asked several of his friends—his uncles, the minister of Dyke, and others—to set themselves apart for two days—Saturday and the Sunday following—"for a solemn seeking of the Lord" in his behalf, that the citation might not be a snare to him. He also engaged, as was his wont, in a prolonged and searching examination of his own heart, his motives, inclinations, and duty, and ultimately came to the conclusion to refuse the citation, let the consequences be what they might. What weighed with him most of all was that such great public employments might endanger the spiritual welfare of himself and his family. The frame of his own spirit—his liability to be influenced by the circumstances in which he was placed—he felt, called him to a private life. It was not without a struggle that he came to this conclusion. The position had its undoubted advantages from a worldly point of view, but the temptations to evil to which it would expose him appeared to him so great that he would (to quote his own words) "surely be blasted and corrupt and wither, if he lost communion with the Lord and followed great employments."

While the immediate grounds for his refusal of Cromwell's offer were thus pious personal considerations, it is clear that in

the background lay the feeling that Oliver Cromwell was but a usurper, and as Brodie wisely remarks, no usurpation lasts long, and he clung to the hope that its Kirk and King would yet be restored to Scotland.

That a man should decline a perfectly legitimate and honourable situation because of the temptations to which it might expose him is so uncommon an occurrence in the present day as to appear almost incredible, but the standard of one generation is not to be too rigidly applied to another. The rare scrupulosity and conscientiousness of the Laird of Brodie in this matter, shows at least that he was no self-seeker or place-hunter. He well knew his refusal of Cromwell's citation endangered his property, and it might be, his liberty and his life, but he came to his decision in full view of all the risks, and stood by it. It required some courage to say "No!" to Oliver Cromwell.

The estimate which his contemporaries formed of Brodie's ability and character is thus shown by these successive attempts to attach him to their respective causes. He would have been welcomed with open arms by the Resolutioners; it was with extreme reluctance the rival Protestors allowed him forsake their counsels; and Cromwell himself, as we see, was most anxious to secure his services. In truth, Lord Brodie was one of the foremost men of his time in intellectual power and administrative ability, whilst his high character had secured him personal esteem and wide influence.

If Lord Brodie expected to escape from the cares and troubles of the time by retiring to his Castle at Brodie he was speedily

undeceived. He had arrived home on 14th June, 1653, and on 5th August of that year he had a visit from Cromwell's troops They were on the march northward in pursuit of Lords Glencairne and Balcarres, who had raised an insurrection in the Highlands in favour of the exiled King. Captain Deal, who was in charge of the English troops in question, greatly vexed the heart of Lord Brodie by having inconsiderately quartered his soldiers in his "Little Park," where he had sown and planted his young oak and birch, which had been his delight. Cromwell's soldiers destroyed his young trees. "Now this was in my estimation a very great cross," says the Laird, allowing his natural indignation to express itself at the moment. But, good man, he accepts it eventually as a discipline of Providence, and comes to the conclusion that it had been sent to reprove his too much care of his young and tender trees, and his too little care of the desolation of His church, ordinances, and people, and he thanked the Lord that had in wisdom chosen to humble him by a cross from Him rather than to leave him to fall into snares through them, counting in his heart the cross a greater mercy than the highest preferment or benefit that he could attain by them. These are his own words. No one of kindred tastes will find fault with Brodie's annoyance at having had his young plantation of trees trampled down, though they may not have the measure of grace he had to look at it in the same light.

A few days later, the redoubtable Colonel Morgan—Cromwell's wiry, red-haired, little Irishman—marches past Brodie to join his troops who are even now in touch with the Highlanders six

miles beyond Inverness. The exigencies of the warfare Glencairne is maintaining keep him from entering Moray, but on New-Year's Day, 1654, Lord Brodie is apprised of the approach of Glencairne and his Highland host, and he is warned that Glencairne intends seizing him as a prisoner. On the afternoon of the 10th of the month he receives a letter from Glencairne demanding his submission, and before he can answer the first he receives a second to the same effect. Apparently Glencairne wants money. Brodie is undecided what to do—to take to flight, to satisfy the enemy, or to trust in God for protection. He chose the latter course, and has a singular deliverance.

Quite unexpectedly a force of Cromwell's troops marches up to Darnaway. So Brodie Castle is safe from attack. A double safeguard is placed around his dwelling. It was a season of great storm and rain, and the river Findhorn came down in tremendous flood, thus rendering it impossible for Glencairne and his men to cross over. Brodie thankfully recognises these events as special Providences in his favour. His heart overflows with gratitude to God for his goodness and mercy. But while the timely appearance of the military guard at Darnaway and the occurrence of the spate in the river protect Lord Brodie, they are the means of sending Glencairne higher up the river, to the very great detriment of Brodie's uncle, the Laird of Lethen, whose houses and granaries they burned. Herein was a question to engage the analytical mind of Lord Brodie, and he stood rebuked "at his own ignorant, hasty, wrong-applying of the Providences of God." He took the best way of solving his difficulties—he

set off to relieve the distress of his less fortunate friends at Lethen, giving a stack of oats and straw to the poor people who had suffered, doing so, he says, "because of his freedom and their safety; both in duty of love and obedience and in sign of thankfulness." The calamity is accepted by the Brodies in a noble spirit. While there might be in the family matter of humiliation for personal unworthiness, says Lord Brodie, "yet to us it is a token not of wrath but of salvation to us of God, and to our adversaries of perdition." "The quarrel is the Lord's, not ours," he exclaims, and he and his friends are in no way disheartened or dismayed. The old house of Lethen was a very handsome building. A contemporary describing it says it was one of the three principal houses in Moray.

The catastrophe which had befallen Lethen, it was felt, called for more than ordinary submission by the Brodies, and accordingly on the last day of January all the branches of the family met for solemn humiliation before the Lord. Two of the Laird of Brodie's uncles were ministers, and one of them preached on Job xxii., 20 and 21; the other on Joel xx. Then every person present, men and women, young and old, some twenty in all, after confession of their former unworthiness, entered into a new Covenant of consecration. "We closed the exercise with a solemn engagement of ourselves to God, and did come under a new, firm, inviolable Covenant with God that we should be His and He should be ours. We gave up and surrendered our soul, body, estates, lands, rents, houses, families, wives, children, servants, wit, parts, endowments, friends, wealth, and all that we

had, or ever should have or attain unto in this world, to be the Lord's for ever; that He might call for, make use and dispose of it, and make it as His own. We besought the Lord to accept the freewill offering of our lips and of our hearts, and not to permit us to depart from Him." The paper drawn by Lord Brodie has all the precision and particularity of a legal document, but its very formality marks the intensity of feeling which produced it. It is remarkable that not one word is said of the temporal losses sustained, or the hardships endured. These are not counted worthy of being reckoned or spoken of. They serve only as a spur to greater sincerity, faithfulness, and devotion. The spirit is heroic.

After this ill-advised raid of Lord Glencairne's, the peace of the district was undisturbed, save by the passing to and fro of the soldiers of the English Commonwealth between the posts of communication established in the Highlands to keep order. Cromwell's rule was firm, but it established peace. At first the attitude of the people in the district towards his administration was that of sullen acquiescence. The ministers especially had a great dread of Cromwell and his English soldiers, as appears from various entries in their Presbytery records. Thus at a meeting of Presbytery held at Forres on December 10th, 1651, it is recorded "in respect that a garrison of the English Army had but lately entered the town and was not yet thoroughly settled and accommodated therein," it was decided to adjourn for eight days, and then to meet at Dyke. The Presbytery convened at Dyke on the day appointed, but "in regard to the

great disturbance of the bounds through which the brethren were to pass, by reason of the removing of one troop of English and coming on of another, and that it seemed not safe for them to travel late, both doctrine and discipline were continued till that day fifteen days." Meeting again at Dyke on December 31, the minute runs—"Forasmuch as it was weill knowne that the English armie was ane enemie to Presbyteriall Government and would not fail to mark narrowlie our course and carriage therein, it was recommended to the several brethren that they should consider carefully what was most expedient to be done in matters of discipline, and doe the samen in a prudentiall way."

The patriotic Scotsmen in Moray had great difficulty in finding a suitable designation for Cromwell and his government. Cromwell's officers might collect the taxes in the name of the Commonwealth of England, or grant receipts by authority of the Protectorate, but they could not bring them to acknowledge the one title or the other. If they could have done so without serious risk, they would have probably designated Cromwell "The Usurper." But at last they hit upon a neutral title, perfectly correct as far as it went, and committing them to nothing. They styled his administration "The Present Power!" An entry in the Presbytery Records presents a very pathetic picture of the hard conditions to which the clergy were reduced in the earlier years of Cromwell's reign. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Forres on 5th January, 1653, it was represented by some of the brethren "that their condition was such for the time that by reason of ill payment of their provision they were

not able to entertain their families and themselves in any tolerable way, and hardly able to keep the Presbytery and other church meetings. Friendly dealings with their parishioners availed nothing, because they find the brethren unwilling to make use of the Present Power, yea, some have postponed in divers of their parochine for five or six years, and desire to be advised whether or not in such a strait they may make use of the Present Power. The brethren being affected with the depressed condition of their brethren desiring advice, and knowing how prone so many are to take advantage of the time, do advise that yet all good means be used to settle with their people in a friendly way and to employ men fearing God to deal with them and persuade them to equity. And in case no friendly way can prevail, let the Present Power be the last remedy, and in making use of it to carry with that moderation that it may appear they are forced with unjust necessity and not out of a contentious humour, and in all the steps let their moderate mind be known to all men." This relaxation in discipline does not seem to have had any very bad effect, except in the Highland parish of Ardclach, the minister of which, Mr George Balfour, reported on 29th September, 1653, "the deplorable condition of the people under his charge by reason of many heinous and fearful sins daily increasing and abounding among them, as also of their untowardness and unwillingness to submit themselves to discipline grounded upon the inequity of the time." The Presbytery deemed it necessary to visit the parish of Ardclach in consequence of this report by the minister, but no special measures were adopted towards the delinquents.

One of the reasons assigned by the heritors for scrimping the clergy was the excessive taxation imposed upon them by Cromwell. An illustration is afforded by the case of the heritors of the Parish of Auldearn. The Rev. John Brodie (uncle of the Laird of Brodie), desired a helper. The Presbytery at their meeting in February, 1653, recommended the heritors to exercise liberality towards their minister, but they pled that while willing to be so, "their burdens were known to be great every way, and their sufferings had been extraordinary." However, they offered to come to terms—if the Rev. John would abate a chalder augmented upon them in the platt of 1648, they would in lieu of this give to the entrant helper the sum of 100 merks. The minister agreed, and offered to give 200 merks more if he had a special voice in the election! One of Lord Brodie's great concerns was the filling of the vacant charge of Auldearn, when his uncle some eighteen months later died. Even at this time, a distinction was drawn between evangelical ministers and those not so regarded. Harry Forbes, Thomas Hogg, M'Killican, and the Urquharts, were men according to Lord Brodie's own mind.

The "Present Power" interfered but little with the Kirk and its affairs in the Province of Moray. Cromwell's officers were concerned only about the military occupation and the administration of civil affairs. When any of Cromwell's Ironsides happened to attend the Parish Kirk and heard the King prayed for, there were threats of punishment, and it was hinted to the lairds that if the practice did not cease they would be made to repay the stipends of the offending clergy to the

Protector. Lord Brodie was on friendly terms both with the Protector's civil officials and military officers. Lilburne and Monk who commanded successively the Commonwealth forces in Scotland he knew. With Colonel Morgan, who carried out his chief's order, he had frequent interviews. A chain of forts had been established right into the heart of the country, and as Darnaway was one of the stations on the road, the officers commanding the detachments, which were kept constantly on the move, frequently enjoyed the Laird of Brodie's hospitality. His references to the Cromwellian officers are on the whole favourable. He mentions some of them conducting family worship with him. The soldiers sometimes billetted on him were not always desirable guests.

So completely, however, did Cromwell's administration succeed in establishing order and good government in the northern district that the same Presbytery Clerk who had recorded so many dismal apprehensions, ere a few years had run is found acknowledging among other causes of thankfulness, the extraordinary peace enjoyed under the Present Power.

CHAPTER VI.

A VISIT TO THE SOUTH.

IN the Autumn of the year 1655 Lord Brodie decided to go South on business. His personal characteristics come out very strikingly in connection with this journey. The day before leaving, he drew up an exhortation to his family to be remembered in his absence. They were to omit no religious duty, and were to be diligent in all business, servants being obedient to those over them, every one in their own station, "so that there be no murmuring!" He started on the 14th of August, and spent the night at Lethen. He left Lethen on the 15th, accompanied by the Tutor of Inverary. The main object of Brodie's journey was to restore peace and harmony within the domestic circle of the Argyle family. The Marquis and his son, Lord Lorne, were, it appears, at this time at bitter variance, and Brodie was asked to act as mediator between them. There were also accounts to be settled between the Argyle factor and the

Laird of Cawdor, Brodie's nephew, who was deeply involved financially by the unfortunate acquisition by his predecessors of the property of Isla. Brodie appears to have been induced to act in the family dispute at the earnest solicitation of Lord Lorne, who was at this time residing at Gordon Castle, or the Bog of Gight, as it was called. Five years before, Huntly had become indebted to Argyle in the enormous sum of one million merks Scots, and Lord Lorne lived at Gordon Castle from 1653 to 1661. Brodie did not at all like the prospect of meeting his old chief the Marquis of Argyle in the character of a peacemaker. His first visit was paid to Roseneath, where he was not long in discovering that there were, as is generally the case, faults on both sides. He did not like to see, he says, the implacable temper and unsubmissiveness of Lorne to his father, nor did he approve of the deep resentment shown by the father in keeping in his mind injuries and offences and prejudices. Brodie appears to have had a somewhat stiffish letter from the Marquis as to his coming to see him at Inverary, and he had some doubts about accepting the invitation, his feeling being to abandon the negotiations. Happily, he was induced to face the situation, and the Marquis and he, once they had met, got on very well together. The family matters appear to have been adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned. There is no formal scene of reconciliation, but the causes of difference being removed, the father and son enter upon friendly relations again. In the matter of the Laird of Calder's Islay business, Brodie, with considerable tact, conciliates the Marquis by making him arbiter in the affair. The casual

references to public matters in their interviews throw considerable light on the attitude of the Marquis. The position he had taken up was one of strict neutrality towards Cromwell's administration. Two remarks Brodie records as having been made to him by the Marquis show that he had not departed from that position. When Brodie went South he found some of his old friends very earnest about a new Covenant, so as to bring about union—an engagement which would omit all reference to civil affairs and deal only with spiritual matters. "The Marquis," says Lord Brodie in his Diary, "showed me that he had written to Cassillis to see what would please these honest men." The other remark is—"The Marquis told me of the Earls of Lothian and Dysart their temporising with the Protector and inclinations to take employment"—an observation indicating that the Marquis had no sympathy with their conduct.

Some curious glimpses are afforded of the way in which religious exercises entered into the familiar social intercourse of the men of the type of Lord Brodie in those days. On the 22nd of August Brodie came from Roseneath to Kirkintilloch, and lodged "in an honest man's house called Archibald Cathine." "He worshipped God in his house," says Lord Brodie with marked commendation. "As I was purposing in my heart to give myself to humiliation and supplication in a part of the day following, I heard of a solemn fast in the Parish of Renfrew." He resolved to join with them, and next day he is at Renfrew, and hears Mr Patrick Simpson, the parish minister, preach and lecture. Patrick Simpson was an evangelical preacher, and fared badly

later on, being ejected from his parish in 1662, but he lived till the Revolution restored him to his old charge. The following day Lord Brodie is at Paisley. There he spent the day with Bailie John Kelso, Mr Alexander Dunlop, Mr James Stirling, and Mr William Thomson. Dunlop and Stirling were ministers of Paisley at the time, and both suffered for nonconformity at the Restoration. At this time Lord Brodie was much affected by the account of the sufferings of the Protestants in Savoy. "I did exhort them," says Brodie, "to lay the matter of Savoy to heart and look on it as an alarm to all that love the name of Jesus. These same things are determined against them; yet this is the root that is springing up in our land." He records, all too briefly, his meeting with William Ralston of Ralston, a notable figure among the Covenanters of the West. They prayed and read the Scriptures together. He also met with Mr James Durham, one of the ministers of Glasgow, another of the galaxy of "The Scots Worthies." Durham, like Brodie, was descended of an ancient family, and fought as a soldier at Dunbar. His horse was shot under him, and the story is told of how an English soldier was on the point of striking him down with his sword, but taking him to be a minister by his grave carriage and black cloth and band (which was then in fashion with gentlemen) asked him if he was a priest? Durham replied—"I am one of God's priests," and he spared his life. In consequence of this, Durham gave himself to the ministry. Brodie had a high opinion of him, and desired him to commend his case and seek divine direction for him. Durham gave Brodie the sensible advice that

"the safest course in the case of doubt was to eschew the snare and lay count with the inconvenience of loss."

Lord Brodie is greatly cheered with the state of things in Glasgow. He heard that the Sacrament was administered in that place with unanimous approbation, that even the "Malignant" magistrates countenanced worship and reformed the outside. He found that many honest men "were content to lie out of employment and affected not the Government." He adds—"The Lord can rule and keep up His Church, though we do not intrude ourselves into places of credit and employment. All this was the ground of praise and thankfulness, encouragement and exhortation, and stirring up of others, as I shall, God willing, do." And he kept his resolution. The first man he thought of "stirring up" was his old friend Mr Robert Baillie, who had been with him on the first voyage to Holland. Baillie was regarded at this time as lukewarm and latitudinarian—he wrote and said many bitter things about his old friends. "I visited Mr Baillie," writes the undaunted Laird of Brodie, "and exhorted him to entertain Christian followship with others, and to countenance and foster piety. I moved him to pray, wherein he did succeed little of private condition, but bewailed public losses and calamities as unsupportable"—in other words, he was more conscious of the failings of the time than of his own faults. Brodie has others still to "stir up." He meets with Sir John Swinton, who was about to accept office as a Lord of Session under Cromwell, and Brodie records that he closed their interview with an exhortation to him "to look to himself and to watch, to enquire into his own

soul's estate, and to ponder how it fares with him now." It would be to his loss if his estate grew great, while if in spiritual things he decreased and decayed. The more were his snares and temptations, the more should he take heed and watch.

On the 6th of September a happy incident crowned the visit Lord Brodie had paid to Glasgow. He was made a Burgess of the City in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to his country, and as a tribute of the esteem in which he was held. "This day" (he records) "I was made a Burgess of Glasgow, and saw some plenty of God's creatures and the finest and the strongest and the sweetest." In other words, the good citizens of Glasgow had entertained him to a splendid banquet, with much honour and grace.

The following Sunday he spends with his old friend, Johnston of Warriston, at Edinburgh, who is still steadfast to the old ways. Brodie takes part in the christening ceremony of a child of Warriston's, whose wife was descended from the old family of Hay of Lochloy, in Nairnshire, near neighbours and relatives of his own. There is a touch of homely pathos in a little incident that occurred. Brodie when in Edinburgh was in wont to lodge in the house of one Dame Edmonstoune, and when he arrived there he went as usual to his old quarters, only to find his landlady on her death-bed. "You have come to bury me!" exclaimed the old lady as she embraced him. And so it fell out. A few days later she died, and Brodie attended her funeral, and his epitaph on the dead is this—"She died in the Lord, and in the faith of Jesus Christ, and of His promises for forgiveness, and

to be raised up at the last day, to be presented without blame before God, through the Lord Jesus Christ." In the evening he conducted service in the house. "I met with much stupidity in the servants," is his severe comment on the living.

Brodie had much friendly intercourse with the leading ministers of Edinburgh, such as Mr Andrew Gray, Mr David Dickson, and Mr James Guthrie. No trace of any ill-feeling towards him for having withdrawn from the Protestors remained. He found most of them of the opinion that Cromwell's prohibition against praying for the King was not a sufficient cause for quitting the church. The Covenant of personal consecration so much spoken of at Glasgow was presented to Brodie by Mr Andrew Gray, and he freely and willingly subscribed it. That Cromwell should have increased the pomp and show of outward ceremonial in connection with any State function is hardly what would have been expected, but Brodie remarks on the increased splendour and stateliness as compared with his time connected with the downsitting of the Judges. He enjoyed much friendship and hospitality from the Lords of Session, who welcomed him as an old colleague, but the business which had brought him to Edinburgh did not prosper. Next to the Argyle pacification, the relief of the Earl of Moray from his fine was the matter of most concern to him. The Earls of Moray were near neighbours of Brodie's. He had known three Earls—James, the son of the Bonnie Earl, who strange to say, had married Huntly's daughter, and who died at Darnaway and was buried at Dyke in the year 1638; James, his son, who was a keen

Royalist but kept himself retired during the Civil War, and died in 1653; and Alexander, his eldest surviving son. He had just come into possession of the Earldom, and was fined by Cromwell in the heavy sum of £3500 sterling. His affairs were in the utmost confusion, and Brodie acted the part of a true friend to him in his distress, though in after years the Earl became his greatest enemy.

One evening Brodie met with Colonel Witham and Colonel Scroop, two of Cromwell's officers, and exhorted them to express and show that they were come here for the good of this broken people. Their reply was that it would tend much to that effect if honest men would accept employments—a quite legitimate home-thrust.

Brodie was glad to get away again from the excitements and anxieties of public life, and paid a visit to the beautiful home of Pringle of Torwoodlee. His cousin, Janet Brodie, daughter of the Laird of Lethen, was the wife of George Pringle, and presided over a happy household. She was a staunch Covenanter, and Brodie and she had much to say to each other in the way of strengthening their faith and bracing themselves to walk in the path of duty. "This family," he records in his Diary, "has all things plentiful and successful, and are blest with friendship and offspring. Let the Lord bless it to them. No such emulations and factions here as is among us." In parting Brodie spoke a word of admonition and counsel to them "of what the Lord was requiring of them severally." He adds quaintly—"They all took it well off my hands!" Lady Pringle of Torwoodlee proved

herself worthy of the stock she came of when the days of persecution came.

A few days more were spent in Edinburgh, making representations to the Judges of the propriety of relieving the shire of the excessive public burdens laid upon it. Brodie's nearer acquaintance with the executive of Cromwell's Government does not impress him favourably. "Our bands and complaints of arbitrary ruling are the same as before. As unbounded power does Cromwell exercise as ever did any before," is his summing up of his Edinburgh impressions. On returning home, he gets a letter from Colonel Morgan requesting him to come to Aberdeen. He did so with some apprehension as to what this call portended, as he had once more in Edinburgh distinctly declined proffered employment, but he found it was only to ask him to become a Justice of the Peace for the County! Even this service would Brodie undertake only if others did so, and the oath did not involve him in any way.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD BRODIE'S HOME LIFE.

LORD BRODIE did not lead an idle life at home. Much of his time was taken up looking after his own concerns, and perhaps still more the affairs of others. He was a careful and prudent manager of his property, and prospered withal, adding considerably to his estate. He found he had quite a little mine of wealth in his oak wood, which he sold to an Englishman for a price unheard of in the district. He had his losses no doubt as well as his gains. He had such things to deplore as the accidental burning of his whole winter supply of fuel—his peats which he had carefully stacked at Bankhead. At another time he is busily engaged despatching from the port of Findhorn to the South, the grain he has received from his tenantry in payment of their rents, as well as the crop reaped on his own mains, only to find a few days later that the ship which carried his cargo of grain has been captured by pirates.

The seasons at this period appear to have taken an unkindly turn, causing the careful husbandman many anxious thoughts. On September 11th, 1653, the great rain, like a deluge (Brodie records), overflowed his land, especially at Grieship, carrying away the piers and fences, and destroying the corn. On October 2nd of the same year, he mentions that "the extraordinary rain continued, and the overflowing of the waters." On the 19th of December, the tide went over the works in Inverness and the highway there, almost to the top of the bridge, and in Findhorn took away some houses. It culminated on December 27th in "the greatest tide and overflowing of the sea that was seen these forty years." A few weeks later occurred the great spate in the Findhorn which prevented Glencairne crossing the river at the Broom of Moy, and compelling him to go higher up. On 5th July, 1655, there was "a very great flood and deluge of rain, which raised all the waters to a great height." On 8th December of the same year, Brodie records "the occurrence of snow and wind and tempestuous blowing," "the rivers overflowing and the sea breaking in upon the land, taking away several houses, several people perished, and ships and boats." The new year brought no improvement in the weather, for on the 22nd of January there was another great flood of rain, which did great damage by its inundation of the land; and the storm was renewed on the last day of the month. Bad enough as these storms were, they appear to have been thrown in the shade by the great flood of rain which began about the 1st of September, 1658. "The inundations were so great that there has not been seen greater

here this age." The following summer was also a time of great floods and inundations. Lord Brodie, with his vivid imagination, could not fail in regarding the storms and tempests in the natural world as fit emblems of the distractions and troubles which had befallen the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland.

Lord Brodie had to mourn the death of his old and faithful servant, John Wyland. The master pays an affectionate tribute to the memory of the steward of his house. "The end of the righteous man is peace. Such was his end, and in this went before me that he never did so much wrong to any other as I had done." Brodie was beginning to feel the loneliness of old age approaching, for he continues—"Scarce are there any living now in these bounds which had been here in my father's or grandfather's time, which was but yesterday. Oh, so soon does one generation pass and another come; so do our days glide away like the stream or like the shadow." The degeneracy of servants had, it would appear, begun so far back as Lord Brodie's time, for he adds—"Nay, nor are there in our days servants like those who were of old in the days of my grandfather!"

Lord Brodie's mother married a second time, but after the death of her husband, Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, she returned to Brodie Castle, and kept house for the Laird. Brodie's son and daughter grew up. The daughter Grizzel or Grace, who was the elder of the two, married her cousin Dunbar of Grangehill (now Dalvey), when she was but eighteen years of age. Brodie's son, James, went to Aberdeen University to complete his education. His father left the choice of a College to himself,

but regretted afterwards he had not sent him to St. Andrews. Lord Brodie's household was regulated in accordance with his own views and sentiments. As head of the family, he considered it part of his duty to instruct and guide both his family and his servants. Sunday evenings at Brodie Castle were devoted to catechising—now almost a forgotten exercise. The Shorter Cathechism—the theological text-book of every Scottish Presbyterian youth for generations—was then a comparatively new book. It came from England along with the Westminster Confession of Faith just about the time Brodie went first to Edinburgh. Lord Brodie also expounded the Scriptures on these occasions, and when opportunity afforded, he had the assistance of some minister, preferably of the evangelical order, in these exercises. He attached the greatest importance to religious instruction in families, and brought the matter before the Presbytery, but he was strongly opposed by Mr Murdoch Mackenzie, minister of Elgin (who afterwards became Bishop of Moray), on the ground that ordinary men were not competent to explain the Scriptures or catechise those under their charge. Their inability, he contended in effect, discharged their obligation. Brodie refused to accept such reasoning, and he and the minister had very sharp contention, so much so that they were never very good friends after. Brodie having got no Presbyterial support, did what he could within his own sphere of influence, taking much pains to see that good schoolmasters should be appointed. He mentions several young lads, sons of poor neighbours, whose school fees and class-books he provided. On one occasion,

hindered by a spate in the Findhorn from getting home, he spent the afternoon at Forres witnessing the children of the school act and personate the two great vices of prodigality and covetousness.

The social life of the rural parishes in the North at this time was very low and degraded. The external aspect of a dwelling in Scotland is at no time a true index to the character of the inmates, for purity of life and natural refinement of manner may often be found in the humblest of habitations, but the miserable accommodation of the agricultural classes common to the period was not favourable to the promotion of piety. In the light cast upon the domestic life of the district by the Kirk Session records, it is scarcely to be wondered at that a religious man like Lord Brodie should often be saddened and dismayed. He believed that ignorance was to a large extent at the root of vice, and he desired to see religious knowledge extended by the faithful preaching of the gospel and by the religious instruction of the young. He set himself to do what he could to create a better state of things. Christian work is now no longer confined to the regular ministry, but in Lord Brodie's day it marked a new departure for a layman like him actively to seek to promote evangelical religion among his associates and neighbours. In all ages of the Church, the problem of how best to bring men and women to decision in matters of faith has exercised the minds of the devout, and methods have varied with the temper and tendencies of the times. In Lord Brodie's day the favourite practice was that of subscribing a personal covenant of consecration. While it is better not to vow than vow and not pay, Lord

Brodie found it a good and excellent form. Many a time were such covenants broken disastrously, but in not a few instances they held. These covenants were often subscribed by the penitent in circumstances of much solemnity, and though certainly open to abuse, Lord Brodie believed in them, and encouraged and enforced them in his own household, and among his friends and neighbours.

In the midst of the general depravity there were many burning and shining lights. Amongst some of the better educated classes, there was a recoil from the coarseness of life prevailing. Aspirations after higher things were kindled. In his intercourse with his kinsmen and neighbours, Lord Brodie both by precept and example, helped to strengthen and confirm these tendencies. By the common people he was spoken of as the "good Laird of Brodie."

In private life he was not at all the morose ascetic, the wretchedly unhappy man, some passages in his diary would, if taken by themselves, lead us to conclude. On the contrary, there was a graciousness of manner and a sweetness of disposition about him, which attracted people towards him. He became the trusted friend and adviser of those in distress or perplexity, either in temporal or spiritual matters. He was arbiter in almost every dispute in the shire. The hospitality of his house was unbounded. Brodie Castle was but a little distance off the old coast road used by travellers going north or south, and all persons of distinction paid him a visit in passing—often to confer with him on public matters—not unfrequently to obtain assistance or

counsel in their private affairs. In fact his retirement to the country only made him the more conspicuous. He was a tower of strength to the Covenanting cause in the North, and consequently when the evil days came, a marked man to the enemies of that cause.

All this time the King was living in inglorious exile. Any reports that reached Scotland of his doings were not to his credit. Lord Brodie hears that he has turned Catholic. The expectation and desire that he might be restored to Scotland once more is gradually dying out. For once a "usurpation" is apparently going to be permanent. The "Present Power" has inspired confidence by its endeavours to administer strict justice and preserve peace. The trade and commerce of Scotland is reviving. The General Assembly is still shut up, but the Presbyterians are allowed the free exercise of their religion everywhere, and are only interfered with when their own faction fights threaten to disturb the public peace. Unfortunately, the two ecclesiastical parties into which the Kirk is divided, are as bitterly opposed to each other as ever. There is manifestly a supreme want of leadership in the Kirk judicatories. The question arises, would the result have been different if Lord Brodie had remained with the Protestors? Would his calm judgment and keen discernment in distinguishing between the essential and the accidental have led to a different state of things? Would his characteristic moderation have saved both parties from drifting into extreme and indefensible positions? It was the first split in the Presbyterian Church since the Reformation. The factious spirit bore

its inevitable fruit in indifference and apathy to religion and its claims among large sections of the people, and paved the way for a still greater reaction. Meanwhile Brodie is being drawn closer than ever towards civil affairs under the Present Power. He accepts ultimately the office of Justice of the Peace, and saves his peace of conscience by minimising the oath of allegiance. Two of Cromwell's Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Civil Matters in Scotland, Judges Smyth and Edward Moseley, came on a visit to him at Brodie, and he told them how he had taken the oath of Justice of Peace. "It often came in my thoughts, how would I answer to the Lords Cassillis and Warriston for accepting to be a Justice of the Peace," he records. He had a few months later the opportunity of explaining personally to his friends in Edinburgh how matters stood with him. Cassillis he found as firm as ever, but at that very moment Sir Archibald Johnston was considering whether he should accept an invitation sent him to go to London. Lord Brodie adds—"I am feared for his undertaking." Well he might. For the staunch, the immaculate Johnston of Warriston—the "Lion of the Covenants," the uncompromising, the incorruptible Johnston of Warriston, whose pamphlets had given Lord Brodie many a bad hour, and whose anger he still dreaded—this same Johnston of Warriston went to London—and fell! He accepted employment, becoming a member of the House of Commons. The hopelessness of the King's cause, the prosperity of the country under the Protectorate, and the desire to be in a position to influence the "Present Power" in favour of the Kirk of Scotland

no doubt were considerations which led to the change of policy of these men. In poor Warriston's case there has to be added that he was a victim of a domestic tragedy. His son had ruined him by his reckless ways, and brought distress and misery upon a happy household. Warriston thought to retrieve his misfortunes by service under the Protectorate. Amongst those who suffered severely from the bankruptcy of Warriston's son was Brodie of Pitgavenie, Lord Brodie's uncle. Johnston of Warriston having gone over, it is with less surprise in all the circumstances that we read that Lord Brodie, in January, 1658, "after much resistancy and reluctancy" took his old place on the Scottish Bench as a Lord of Session along with the English Judges. He exclaims—"Let the Lord turn it to His glory, mine, and His people's good!" The inconsistency of refusing English employment and at length accepting it, is more apparent than real. The circumstances of the country had entirely changed during these eight years. The truth of the remark of Cromwell's officer at Dalkeith, that it would tend much to the peace of the country if honest men took employment, could not but be evident to Lord Brodie and his friends, although they had hung back for a long time to maintain their old testimony.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

LORD BRODIE'S official duties in Edinburgh brought him once more in contact with his old friend the Marquis of Lothian. From the time they had been in Holland together they had remained steadfast friends. The old debt they had incurred on behalf of Charles to the men of Campvere, not yet cleared off, was a subject of frequent correspondence and conversation between them. Brodie had gone over one day to Newbattle on a visit to the Marquis, taking his son with him. The result was the engagement of young James Brodie to Lady Mary Ker, Lord Lothian's youngest daughter. Engagements in those days were usually of very short duration. In some instances recorded in Lord Brodie's diary, the parties are "contracted" on Saturday and married on Monday. A week from the time of the formal engagement to the day of the marriage was an unusually long interval. Perhaps Lady Mary Ker was

allowed a little longer time than was customary to get ready her trousseau, seeing that she had to go so far North to her future home. No particulars are preserved of the wedding festivities, but Lord Brodie records on 28th July, 1659—"My son was married with Lady Mary Ker, and on the 31st July, 1659, she did subscribe her covenant to and with God and became His and gave up herself to Him." Probably this act took place on the arrival of the young couple at Brodie Castle. It would have been quite in accordance with the serious tone of the social life of such households if it were done on the first night of her arrival. Lady Mary's signing of the Covenant, however, was no mere form to please either her husband or her husband's father. She was herself a true-blue Covenanter. Brodie Castle might have been considered strict enough before in its allegiance to that side, but Lady Mary made it twice as strict. She had a mind of her own, and outshone both her father-in-law and her husband in her devotion to the cause of evangelical religion.

Lady Mary's home-coming happened to be in one of the years of excessive rain, but Morayland in the month of July must have appeared to her singularly fair and beautiful. Her first visit would probably have been to her sister-in-law at Grangehill—a sweet sheltered spot, where the tall hedgerows enclosed fields of pasture and corn as rich and luxuriant as any she had ever seen in the Lothians. It would be her duty to return the call of the Lady Moray, and her admiration must have been excited by the magnificent drive through the forest to the old hunting seat of Darnaway, which had so many historic associations—no place in

Scotland, apart from the royal residences, having seen so much of Kings and Queens and Princes of the Royal blood as this splendid old turreted keep with frowning battlements, then untouched by the hand of the improver, and its grand hall still retaining its paved floor. An early day would be given to a visit to her husband's cousins, the Brodies of Lethen. It would not be courteous to pass by Brightmony, and a call there would introduce her to one of a type of men common to the period in Nairnshire—a man of ancient lineage, whose only income was derived from the cultivation of a small property—albeit poor in worldly circumstances, a gentleman of courtly manners and education, who if the conversation turned on the state of the times would not hesitate to declare himself an out-and-out Covenanter. Such Hugh Hay of Brightmony was, and his most precious heirloom was the large two-handed sword which his father had wielded with such good effect at the Battle of Auldearn against Montrose's rabble, until, through an act of treachery, Colkitto threw him off his guard and cut him down. The old fire burned in the son's breast, and if fighting for the good old cause was again to be needed a Hay of Brightmony would assuredly be there. Lady Mary could hardly have missed the experience every one has who ascends the Brae of Brightmony for the first time. The brae is steep, and when the ascent is made, one turns involuntarily to look back, and then there bursts on one's view one of the fairest prospects imaginable—a perfect vision of beauty :—the smiling plain at one's feet, the sparkling sea beyond, the huge wall rising from the water's edge, broken

by the entrance to the Cromarty Firth, the passage guarded by sentinels, "the Stacks," and the waterway inside gleaming in a softer light, and then the fertile slopes of Cromarty and Ross in magic colouring stretching back towards the mountain range—to the west rounded and heavy, to the north sharp and pointed. It is a scene of enchantment that leaves the spectator spellbound.

Lethen House, on the green slope dipping down to the Burn which has cut out a passage for itself between two birch-clad hills, occupies an ideal situation, perfect in loveliness and soft beauty. It was a place of great strength, almost impregnable to the assaults of those days. When Lady Mary paid her visit it would still have borne traces of Glencairne's ruthless attempt at burning it, and the occupants would have much to tell regarding the siege of twenty days which it had sustained at the hands of the Gordons. Lady Mary would have found the Brodies of Lethen entirely to her mind—they were stalwart uncompromising adherents of the Covenanting cause. The doubts and difficulties which so often beset the more timid and apprehensive mind of Lord Brodie, found no place here. Old Lethen and young Lethen were alike staunch and wholehearted for the old cause. They gloried in their past sufferings, and had no forebodings for the future. Their religious profession was not a matter of policy, but of conscience and conviction.

A day would be given to Cawdor and Kilravock, and in both places Lady Mary would have found that evangelical religion found a place there. In fact, with hardly a single exception, all the leading families in Nairnshire were strongly Presbyterian.

The Laird of Kilravock had more sympathy with the ecclesiastical party known as the "Resolutioners" than with the Protestors, as he himself had been concerned in the Hamilton "Engagement," but his excellent wife, Lady Kilravock, as she was called, neither at this time or later, wavered in her attachment to the evangelical party, although, like the Laird of Brodie, she regretted they had pushed matters to extremes.

Lady Mary's round of visits was probably curtailed by the intimation that her father, the Marquis of Lothian, was about to pay them a visit at Brodie Castle. The Marquis arrived in October. No details are preserved of his visit, but it appears to have been most satisfactory on both sides. In a letter dated from Brodie on 27th October, Lord Brodie gives graceful expression to his feelings regarding the Marquis and the daughter of his Lordship's house—"that living pledge of our mutual affection which you left here." Such epistles of Lord Brodie's as have been preserved, show him to have been a very courtly and agreeable correspondent. With a few changes in the orthography, the following is the letter he sent the Marquis some days after the visit had concluded :—

"My noble Lord,—I long to hear of your safe arrival and that you have well overcome the fatigue of so painful and toilsome a journey. I cannot but with thankfulness acknowledge those kindly expressions of respect and affection which you signified to me from Pitoulie, which, albeit far above my deserving, yet very suitable to your native goodness and generosity.

"That living pledge of our mutual affection which you left

here, is to me of all persons in the world the most acceptable, as being the instrument by whom I may receive my greatest comfort in a present world, neither will your Lordship nor herself measure my desire of her good by what portion I have in the world, or may be able to confer. But if some grains of willingness may be admitted to come in the balance, it is no vanity (if I should say so) I come short of none, having my heart no less enlarged for her well-being than it is for my own.

"I leave it to your daughter to give your Lordship and my lady and other friends a farther account of this place where we are fallen together, and of her satisfaction in it and in us. Whatever it be, it is her own without any competition. This property alone, in a very low condition, has (to moderate and sober spirits) afforded more contentment (through God's will and blessing) than large dominions have been able to do.

"One thing cannot be remedied in our common lot—that we can be of no more use to your Lordship, and if by all our pains and endeavour this could be made up, that myself or this poor family, or any having interest in us, could be serviceable to your Lordship, or any of yours, it would add greatly to their and my happiness. Lest I should seem larger in my professions than your Lordship's ingenuity or my inclination will allow, I shall forbear to enlarge upon this subject. Whilst I can extend myself no further, I shall joy in your prosperity and welfare, and to hear of the good of your family, and when your Lordship shall esteem that my service may be of any further use you will not more willingly enjoin than I shall obey any command where-

with you shall honour your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.—A. BRODIE."

We have no account by Lady Mary of her new home, but we know otherwise that she became passionately fond of it, and, if tradition speaks truly, we owe to her taste and judgment the noble lines of trees which shelter the old Castle and the stately avenues which lead to it. One glimpse we do get of Lady Mary through her correspondence. It is a letter she sends to her mother some years after her marriage. Its style is extraordinarily formal and precise. She addresses her mother as "Dear Madam," and concludes—"Your Ladyship will, I hope, pardon my freedom with your Ladyship, when you remember it cometh from, dear Madam, your Ladyship's most affectionate daughter, MARIE BRODIE." The subject-matter of the letter, written in this excessively stilted style, is simple and commonplace enough. "I am in trouble for my little daughter Anne," she writes, "who is at present very sick of a fever and is I think breeding the smallpox, but they are not come out as yet. I have given her a little of my Lady Kent's powder, but it's not put anything forth as yet." Her daughter Anne, regarding whom she was so anxious, one is glad to know, came through her illness, and when she grew up became the wife of the Master of Forbes. Lady Mary had a numerous family of daughters, but no son.

The sun shone brightly on Brodie Castle while the Protectorate lasted, but its collapse, within three years of Brodie's acceptance of office, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The bringing back of

Charles by Monk, and the crowning of him as King of England, came upon them as a thunderbolt from the blue, and the light which flashed upon them from the unlooked-for event, revealed the perils of their situation. The usurpation after all had not lasted. The King is welcomed with almost universal acclamation. A frenzy of excitement prevails. Puritanism in England for the time is out of favour. In Scotland also the King's return evokes widespread, if not universal, rejoicing. The Presbyterianism of Scotland, however, was a different thing from the Puritanism of England. The latter had run into the most fantastic fanatical forms; it had split up into a congeries of sects, rivalling each other only in eccentricities and absurdities. The Puritanism of the Scottish people, on the other hand, was an eminently sober, reasonable, and well-ordered system of religious thought and doctrine. The split of the Kirk into Protestors and Resolutioners had, however, weakened its influence and authority. It sent Commissioners to London to secure the liberties and independence of the Church of Scotland as anciently possessed, and meanwhile had to await the King's pleasure.

CHAPTER IX.

VISIT TO LONDON.

THE immediate effect of the accession of Charles II. to the Throne was as regards Brodie his dismissal from his post as a Lord of Session. His name was shortly after included in the list of those to be fined. Men of his stamp were not in favour at the King's Court. The circumstance that he had taken service under Cromwell was deemed in itself sufficient reason for his immediate removal from office, with punishment to follow. It was of no use to plead that he had accepted the English employment with reluctancy and only for his country's good. Lord Brodie may be thankful if he is not executed, for on every hand his old friends are being dealt with as the blackest of criminals. The vengeance of the King has descended, or will shortly descend, on every one of the leaders of the old Presbyterian party—the very men who crowned him King of Scotland only eight years before, when his fortunes were at their lowest

ebb. All that they had done for him is forgotten. Not one spark of gratitude towards them exists in his heart. That they had fought for him at Dunbar and Worcester, and had remained loyal to his cause until all hope of his restoration had died out, was nothing to him. His malevolence was implacable. He never forgave them, or could forgive them, for having made him sign the Covenants and promise to live uprightly. Political enemies he could pardon, but Argyle and his colleagues of the strict Presbyterian persuasion, never! Charles was shrewd enough in his estimate of these men to feel sure that with their attachment to the principles of religious freedom and purity of worship in the Kirk of Scotland, they would be a barrier and a hindrance to his arbitrary and despotic government.

Brodie meanwhile is strongly urged by his friends to go up to London and see the King. He is told that the King had a prejudice against him for not having paid court sooner, which he ought to endeavour to remove. Brodie at length is induced to undertake the mission. He ought never to have gone. The Court of Charles II. was no place for him. He will have to take his place amongst the motley crew of hangers-on, the needy adventurers and place-hunters, all the dissolute characters, who flocked from diverse quarters to Charles's Court. The one redeeming feature in this incident of his life is Brodie's disinterestedness. He had no personal objects to serve, at least his own immediate interests were of comparatively little concern. It would have been far better for Brodie as a man if he had gone home to Moray and taken his chance of the King's displeasure.

He does not show well in the atmosphere of the Court, as we shall see. Quite sincerely he can say he never had anything but affection for and loyalty to the King, but he seems to forget that he and his friends represented a principle and a cause which the King hated, and was even then seeking to destroy. It was really more on account of his friends than on his own behalf that he sought the favour and grace of the King, and he suffers woful humiliation for their sakes.

Brodie's visit, however, affords some interesting glimpses of London and its society of that time. He is profoundly impressed with the richness of England, and of the greatness of its Capital. He left Edinburgh on the 20th of July, 1661, on horseback, and on the night of the 23rd he put up at Durham. "I saw a country full of grass, plentiful in comparison of us." "I remarked the stately palaces of the Bishop of Durham, their prebends and courts; and alas! all his wealth, state, and glory make little to the honour of God, is little pleasing to Him." He reached Stamford and proceeded to Stiltown, "and by the house of Burtie," and being wearied with travel, he took coach and baited at Okenberry, whilst the Laird of Calder, who had accompanied him, went forward by post towards London. "Thus I saw a large beautiful country, not straitened with the poverty that my native soil was under." Having travelled through Northumberland, York, Durham, part of Nottingham, Lincoln, Rutland, Huntingtown, and Bedford, still more wonderful sights were before him. On the 27th he writes—"I came by Sir John Reid's park, and dined at Ampthill, and saw the Earl

of Salisbury's fine house [Hatfield], park, and vineyard, and came by Baldock-on-the-Chalk, through Bernhard, Highgate, Islington, and to London at night." It was a Saturday night. "I saw a mighty city, numerous, many souls in it, great plenty of all things, and thought him a great King that had so many at command." Two days after his arrival he was taken to the King and kissed his hand, and, he says, "acknowledged the Lord in this, that he had seen his face in peace." The presentation was apparently of a formal character, and Lord Brodie had no opportunity given him of renewing old friendships.

In the ample leisure he was afforded as a suppliant at Court, Lord Brodie had time to visit the sights of London. He dined with Lord Cassillis and met the Earl of Lauderdale, both old friends, and they went to such fashionable resorts as Spring-gardens, Tredah, &c. Another day, Cassillis and he having dined together, spent the afternoon visiting St. Paul's, the Royal Exchange, Pope's Head Alley, and other places. Brodie's remark is—"The variety of fancies, objects, delights, were many; yet I saw the emptiness of it all, and sought grace to discern that one good, blest, and perfect object, the attaining and enjoying whereof could alone afford me rest." He adds that he would be satisfied if he were allowed sufficient for his accommodation and necessities in the voyage of life. Georgefields was a favourite resort of Brodie's and his friend the Earl of Cassillis, but they varied their outings by dining at Smithfield, and visiting Bedlam, the Artillery-yard, and Moorfields. Bedlam at this time was open to visitors as one of the show-places in London. Brodie

remarks—"Much matter of humiliation did I see in these objects at Bedlam. I desire grace to improve it to the humbling of my soul and to the subduing of sin and increase of mortification." Newington and Lambeth formed another afternoon's excursion. "One day," writes Brodie, "I went with Cassillis to the Bridge (of London) and above I saw the plenty of the land, a populous city; some things of God's providence, and acknowledged the Lord in it, who had divided the kindreds of the earth, and given them their several habitations, not all alike, but as His wisdom had seen fit." The occasion of this particular reflection is not quite obvious, but when he adds—"I saw the Copres work, and acknowledge the Lord in the gifts and faculties which he gave to the children of men," we perceive that he has been impressed by the skill and handicraft of the London workmen. Lord Brodie sees the Lord Mayor's show, and on 5th November witnesses the celebration of the Gunpowder Plot. In Brodie Castle there is preserved to this day a lantern said to be Guy Fawkes' veritable lantern, and it is just possible that Lord Brodie may at this time have got it as a curiosity.

When Lord Cassillis went home, Lord Brodie has for his companion in his rambles in and around London, his friend Lord Lorne. They become inseparable companions, and Brodie conceives a very high opinion of the heir of Argyle.

Of course Lord Brodie did not omit church-going in London. The first religious service he attended was at St. Margaret's, Westminster. His comment on the preacher's sermon is—"I marvelled to see men in the abstract speak of the holiness of God

so well, and yet in the application mistake." On the following Sunday he heard Mr Morton at his kirk in Foster Lane, and finding that it was the Sacrament, notwithstanding his felt want of due preparation, joined in the ordinance. He was eminently pleased with the service, and remarks—"I know not if ever I shall receive the Sacrament again without some superstitious invention, tradition, or mixture of man. I have seen nothing in the ministration of this ordinance but in simplicity, according to the Word of God." When some weeks in London, he says—"The ministers preach well on our natural corruption and depravedness, which I found true, and worshipped God in the acknowledgment thereof." Later on he attended service in Westminster Abbey, and was rather shocked. "I heard their service at Westminster, their music, vestures, gesture, turning and bowing to the altar; and I was in some measure grieved to see their superstition. Were it not human device, their music is pleasing to the fancy, and seems to work on the affections, but it is not of God, and therefore I reject it. Lord, learn me to worship Thee in truth and spirit." Another day he writes—"I did go in to the Abbey Kirk, Westminster, and heard the Sub-Dean, Dr Helyn, preach the Real Presence, but did not explain it. I saw the superstition, bowings, external gestures, heard the singing, liturgy, affectation in vestures, kneeling at the altar, bowing to the elements. These are things which please not God; they are man's; and let man never so much esteem his own inventions, they are not commanded, therefore not warranted. They corrupt, mix, sophisticate, the pure simple worship of God;

therefore I desire to count of them as the Lord counts, and to keep a due distance with anything that has not authority or warrant from God." It is a proof, however, of Lord Brodie's breadth of judgment, that while he condemns many of the forms of celebration, he does not reject the essential element in their observance of the Lord's Supper. For on a later occasion he joined with them—"Albeit I was stumbled at their affected gestures, bowing and cringing at the table before the altar, and bowing at every time they named the name of Jesus, their clothing, their kneeling, their twice consecrating of wine, because they brought some more than at first, yet I thought one might partake savingly with them. They had materially the sacrament of the Lord's body rightly administered. He (the preacher) called it a 'sacrifice of praise'." Lord Brodie adds—"Though with these things and some appearances of evil and superstition I was unsatisfied, yet with reverence did they go about it." A little later on Lord Brodie makes for him the novel admission—"I found my inclination not averse from a form of Liturgy!" "Although it was not so lively as otherways, yet with some measure of affection may God be worshipped" by the use of a set form of prayer. The extemporary prayers he was daily hearing amongst his English nonconformist friends had, he says, "afflicted" him—there was so much disorder and extravagance in their conceived prayers. His attendance at Westminster Abbey became pretty regular, and once more he records—"I found not that aversion from their liturgy and some other things that I had had, and others, godly persons, have. Oh, that this

be no snare to me." These casual remarks of his have been taken to be admissions that he was wrong in sympathising with those who opposed the introduction of Laud's Liturgy into Scotland! They are proofs only of his sympathies for reverence and devoutness in religious worship. It happened that the evening of this very same day he attended St. Margaret's and heard Dr Pearl, and this is what he recorded—"This [the sermon] was sound, but alas! it was without prayer. He said, let us pray for this and this, and the King, &c., and a catalogue, but prayed none except the Lord's prayer, and not a word after sermon. Lord! is this to worship Thee? Is this prayer? My heart challenges me for going in there without necessity, and indeed I could not live on this diet, without prayer and communion with God, and pouring out the heart before God and in His bosom through Jesus Christ. Lord! deliver us from seeing this form of worship introduced." He met his old friend Leighton two days later, and had some conversation with him. "I spoke to Mr Leighton and found his satisfaction in the worship of England and all the ceremonies of it, and I could not but be troubled. He preferred liturgy and set form to other prayer." Lord Brodie's attitude of mind at this time is expressed in an entry in his diary dated Christmas day. "I heard Mr Rood [minister of the New Chapel, Westminster,] and one in St. Margaret's, and a third in the Abbey. I found no temptation in myself to allow or favour their worship nor the keeping of these days; yet I was in myself persuaded that I ought to hear what was spoken and preached, and desired to make use of it as I was able." And his final conclusions are

given when he is about to leave England for home—"If the joining of my spirit with the petitions and worship of the Service Book could warrant my use of it, I might say that in some measure I was helped to join and concur sincerely, so far as I could decern for infirmities, in their worship. Albeit I do not like the formal, stinted, devised form of their answers, repetitions, nay the matter of their prayer, yet I durst not refrain from it. It has the form of a public worship and acknowledgment of God, which I dare not despise. Several good things in it which no man can disapprove. It's better than to want a public worship altogether. God has been dishonoured by conceived prayer, for men have digressed and profaned that ordinance and misapplied it. To withdraw from it would countenance profane and ungodly men, cast off all worship. This is a time wherein is much contempt of God, and a casting off of all worship."

Lord Brodie's visit to London certainly extended his intellectual horizon, and especially deepened his interest in historical studies. He laments how little he knows of such subjects, and spends money in acquiring books of general literature. He reads the romance of "Cassandra" one Saturday night in his lodgings, and his affections were, he says, wrought on more by these inventions and fictions than by truth. Keeping as his custom was, a close watch on the feelings of his heart, he is not very long in London when he records—"I observed in myself a great desire of knowing natural moral, historical things; and was ready to admire them that had great endowments in these things; yet I perceived that I had none and my memory retained

nothing, nor did I conceive many things I read. I desired to be humbled under this, and to be content with my measure." Lord Brodie took lodgings within easy distance of London, and we find him noting down—"I went for this end to London and bought some history books, but nothing of divinity!" When he gets back he reflects on this omission—"This feared me that I was withering, and I desired to search. Oh! the study and knowledge of the one thing necessary, and the use of all that means to that end is that which should be chief." But no one will think less of Lord Brodie in that for once it was history books and not sermons he bought. The list he gives of the books he purchased shows pretty wide reading in classical literature. He bought copies of Tacitus, Lucan, Thucidides, Livy, a Poetical Dictionary, half-a-dozen works of ancient history, a book on botany, Heylyn's geography, "Sir Walter Raleigh," and a large quarto Bible. His self-reproach of a taste for light literature is hardly justified.

Amongst the many names of celebrities of the period mentioned by Lord Brodie, one searches, but in vain, for that of John Milton. By this time Milton was residing in Artillery Lane, writing his "Paradise Lost." Brodie was on intimate terms with Edmund Calamy and other nonconformist friends of Milton's, and it seems unlikely he should not have made the acquaintance of Cromwell's late Secretary. While Lord Brodie was entering in his diary the events of the times, another diary-writer, Samuel Pepys, was also busy chronicling the occurrences of the day. Pepys' Diary records the gossip and scandal of the

Court, but Lord Brodie has not a word to say in disparagement either of the King or his favourites. In the society in which he mingled, he must have heard many a scandalous story of Court life, but these are never once alluded to in the pages of his journal.

Lord Brodie had charged himself with the burden of the affairs of Lord Lorne, the Earl of Morton, the Laird of Calder, the Brodies of Lethen, and others who had all been laid under heavy disabilities. In regard to the first named, from the time Brodie was called in to settle the domestic concerns of the Argyle family, he had been deeply interested in their welfare, and the forfeiture of Lorne's estates, and the restoration of Huntly who owed him an immense sum, meant absolute ruin to Lorne. Brodie's connection with the Earl of Morton is not so clear, and yet he says his whole heart was engaged for the young Earl, who, it would appear, desired a new charter of the Orkney and Shetland Islands. As to the Laird of Calder, he was Brodie's nephew, and, as he more than once declared, as dear to him as his son. He also was about to be heavily fined. As head of the family, Brodie naturally was concerned for his relatives, "his poor friends," as he called them, who had also fallen under the ban of the new Government. He set himself "to make use" of his friends, as he constantly phrases it. The coarse soldier Middleton, whose escapades in the North had made him an object of ridicule; the roystering feather-headed Glencairne; the despicable intriguer Lauderdale, were the King's favourite Scottish Ministers at this time. They were all three in London

together receiving the Royal instructions as to proceedings to be taken in Scotland. It was to this trio Brodie had to appeal for justice to his poor friends. Middleton and Glencairne were constantly quarrelling, and evinced little or no concern for Brodie or his friends. Lauderdale, to do him justice, was a little more sympathetic and perhaps sincere, but even his friendliness did not tend much to advance the interests Brodie had so much at heart. Day after day he unceasingly pursues his mission, waiting and watching for one or other of these statesmen. A friendly conversation with either Glencairne or Middleton raises his hopes; a blunt coarse rebuff sends him home in despair. Brodie has to stoop to all sorts of poor and contemptible expedients in the hope of conciliating the King's favourites. He resorts constantly to the device of "using" some one of supposed influence with them, to speak on his behalf, and in this way he is brought into association with some very notorious hangers-on at Court. Once only he is allowed an interview with the great English Chancellor Clarendon, of whom he forms a high opinion, but as to his business he is referred back to the Scottish Commissioners. He dines and consorts with many of the needy office-seekers who haunt the precincts of Whitehall, but it ends in nothing—nothing save that they occasionally borrow a little money of Brodie, which they forget to repay. In his straits Lord Brodie makes the acquaintance of the infamous James Sharp. The references to him confirm the judgment history has pronounced on his character. Before Brodie meets him, Sharp was one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly

sent up to look after the interests of the Kirk of Scotland; he betrays the Kirk and goes over to the King's interest. Sharp evidently thought that it would be a wise thing to keep an eye on Lord Brodie and his doings in London. Was there not a rumour that Brodie was commissioned to represent the Protestors, and might he not be able to thwart some of Sharp's own ambitious designs? In any case Brodie was worth watching, and circumvented if need be. So Sharp called upon Lord Brodie, and made great professions of friendliness. "He offered kindness to me, and to speak to the King for me." Lord Brodie has much need of the prayer he closes his narrative of his first interview with him—"Lord! teach me what to do, and let not this be a snare to me!"—that is, if he places any trust in this wily, unscrupulous man. Lord Brodie was warned by his friends against Sharp, but he parleys with the temptation—"I did purpose not to make much use of Mr James Sharp, because others stumbled, albeit I thought I might do it lawfully, and through the grace of God assisting, not sin, or necessarily fall in any snare. But I perceive there is small tenderness in me." All the same Lord Brodie entertained him to dinner, and soon after wrote him a letter setting forth his grievances, and he heard the same night that Sharp did take well with his letter. Some weeks later he hears from friends that the ministers of St. Andrews are much "distasted" with Sharp. "I heard so much of this that it would seem to alienate me from such a subtil, unsound person, and the ways of such." Brodie's business had taken a somewhat favourable turn, but it is speedily checked. Sharp has spread a

report against Lord Brodie, that he is an intriguer and plotter against the King's Government. "Dr Sharp told me," writes Brodie, "he had received word from Scotland that I did give intelligence to people there and show them of several plots and kept the people in a distemper and had written the state of business in dark obscure terms; had said that the King's marriage was not like to go forward. Now all this was a great burden to me; yet I had some quietness in that it was false and maliciously forged. But it testified little of Dr Sharp's affection and respect that he had told my Lord Middleton of it and others ere he had told myself. I desired to be instructed by this. This is the man by whom I was looking for friendship, and behold the Lord makes him the instrument of my cross and trouble that I may not lean to him or any man." And so it was during all that London mission—when Brodie is low spirited and despairing, Sharp is at his elbow ingratiating himself; when things are moving more hopefully, Sharp takes care to damage his cause. Brodie thinks he is making use of Sharp; that person is fooling Brodie. The time will come ere long when Sharp will throw off his disguise and appear as Brodie's inveterate enemy and of the cause he represents.

Sick at heart over the business that has brought him to London, Lord Brodie's health gives way. His illness takes a very serious turn, and he has apprehensions of death. In the view of this, his soul was exercised for preparation and grace to meet what was before him in the next world. A more manly and pathetic Christian testimony does not exist than that penned

by the Laird of Brodie, as he lay, as he supposed, on his death-bed in his lonely lodging in London—

"I enquired and desired to search my own heart, whether there was any matter or object on earth to detain, and I found none. I loved my son and my parent and my family and relations, but I can without much perplexity trust them to God and trust in God for them, and I have no more to ask were this my last day. [I pray] that in death He would be my God, and after it, as He has been all my life, and help me through death, and to conquer, through Jesus Christ, that last enemy, and make me overcome the first and the second death also, and that I may with these same eyes see God my Redeemer. I trust this body to Him till He raise it up at the last day; and He is faithful to whom I commit my body, and to Him I commit my soul likewise, that He may, at the last day, present both the one and the other without spot at the coming of the Lord, raising up this mortal body and making it like His, incorruptible, and with Him may meet the Lord in the clouds. I die in this faith, in the confidence and weak assurance of it such as I may attain to.

"I die praying for King Charles, that God may bless his person and government, with length of days, peace, and abundance of truth; and for that end that God may lead him in these sound counsels that may be for the one and the other. Let all them perish that hate him. I had never the least intention against him.

"I leave in God's care my dear and only son, his wife and family and seed, my aged beloved mother, my child Grizel, her

husband, children and family, my kinsmen according to the flesh even those of my father's house. He that has been my God, let Him become their God, and their seed's after them. I have been witness to their solemn engaging to Thee. Lord! confirm and establish them in Thy way. There are many wolves about them, and they are persecuted and hated. That God would rescue them and be their God, and give them proofs of His forgiving, delivering mercies, as often as He has done to me.

"I am not more jealous and solicitous of any than of my nephew; my affection has been to him as if he had been of my own body. If the Lord would take it off my hand, I would leave him particularly on the Lord, that He would become His God and acquaint him with Himself, and bring through the snares of the time to which he is laid open, and prevent, confirm and bless him, even so Lord, that Thou may have glorify of him, if Thou take any pleasure in him.

"I do not conclude of the time of my death; nor can I promise myself one day; only I find frailty and desire to be found ready and loosed from all my comforts, even my sweet children, my dear parent that bore me, my young offspring, my Christian beloved friends, my natural dear friends, kindreds and relations, my pleasant dwelling-houses, lands, rents, walks, woods, retirement. Yea, though they were in all protection they are a small temptation to make me linger an hour were it to see them once, or take leave of them; no, even here I desire to say from my heart, O world, adieu!

"I had as much as might detain me; for of all that's above

written I had something. Well loved I my dear relations, and they me. Willing was I to be useful for them, so were they for me. I had as much ground of contentment in my house, dwelling, friends, neighbours, relations, country, as much credit among them as my heart could wish. My enemies that hated me, and for no ill I did them, yet I do pray for them all; and now desire to bid all things created farewell. The offer of a world, a crown, a pleasant dwelling, to be assured to see these come of me many and honourable, to be in the chief honour and in the world: I would desire to say to it (if Thou call me to Thee), begone; I desire not to delay one hour to enjoy all these; yet desire to submit to His will if He think fit to keep me here for forty years, though I hope He minds good to me, stay I short or long."

These are veritably the aspirations of a good man. Such a noble confession reveals his true inward character and disposition.

Lord Brodie, however, recovered from his illness "as it were by a miracle," and was greatly cheered by Leighton who visited him and reminded him that the renewal of bodily strength was given to him that he might the more absolutely consecrate his life to God.

One sad day Lord Brodie spent in London. The renegade Sharp had secured a Bishopric for himself under the new Episcopal Constitution the King and his advisers proposed for the Church of Scotland. His spiritually-minded friend Leighton was in the same boat, along with Fairfoul and Hamilton. It was from Lord Brodie's point of view bad enough that they should

have accepted the office of Bishop contrary to their sworn adherence to Presbyterianism, but that they (Sharp and Leighton) should have acknowledged the insufficiency of their ordination as ministers of the Church of Scotland by submitting to reordination at the hands of Episcopacy, filled his soul with righteous indignation. Lord Brodie made it a day of fasting. He kept his house that Lord's day and penned the following protest :— "It might be a day of sorrow to them for whom this day's solemnities are appointed. We declare this day that the name of God was taken in vain, that we swore falsely in the Lord's name : We are condemning all that we have been doing and endeavouring for reforming the house of God ; reproaching and raising a slander on our mother Kirk of Scotland, her ministers, ordinances, officers, as if we had none and were no church, and all other churches had no power, but dwindle from this superstitious form, and they only were a true church, and all other churches had no power of their own officers, ministers, ordinances, order, government, and discipline. These men, our new Bishops, are they which renounce and abjure what now they take on them and glory in. How shall they be believed next when they preach or when they swear ? They have dealt so falsely and perfidiously in this. Shall not both they and we mourn for this ?" Brodie heard that Sharp, Leighton, and the others had surplices, rochetts, albs, and all other ceremonies, bowed to the altar, and took the sacrament kneeling at the altar when consecrated, and he was told that the officiating minister on the occasion spoke much against the Presbyterians, denying the validity of their ordina-

tion and so forth. For policy sake Brodie has to restrain his feelings of contempt, and even concedes the title of "Lord" to Sharp when he again meets him, but he is angry with himself every hour. Even his friend Leighton, for whom he had sincere affection and admiration, he parts from with the significant remark that he will be pushed further by the men behind him than he at present perceives—a prediction that was abundantly fulfilled.

The novelty and excitement of London life, which he had rather enjoyed at first, began to pall, and he wearied for his own home-life. "My desire," he writes after three months in London, "is to the Lord to rid me of this place. It is a place I have no fellowship in. I am in no particular calling. I am doing no good in it. I desire to be restored to those I am tied to, for the Lord's glory." On April 23, 1662, he exclaims—"To be near two years from my family, tossed nine or ten months in a strange land, as exiled, discountenanced, maligned, hated, persecuted, opposed, friendless, witless, great ones against me!" He adds—"This shall be a humbling journey, go things as they will."

In fact, Lord Brodie realised that his journey and mission had been a mistake. He had placed himself in an anomalous position by appearing at the King's Court. He was conscious that he was regarded as "a speckled bird," as he quaintly describes himself. All his planning and scheming, his fraternizing with recusants and consorting with courtiers, were in vain. The Duke of Lauderdale, his last hope and stay, failed him, and he makes up his mind on 12th May to quit London. "I intend this day (if the Lord permit) to take journey. Let the Lord be with me in

setting forth, and let Him accompany by the way, give grace to serve Him, and let my return be comfortable and for His glory." He was in attendance all the evening before and that day waiting to take leave of the King, but in vain. Next day, however, he was successful in gaining audience of the King. "May 14—Yesterday I had access to the King, and kissed his hand. Now I desire to reckon this as a mercy, considering how men have laboured to prejudge him against me. It was more than I looked for: now I lean on Him all that concerns me." But his mission had failed. In Lord Morton's business he had not then succeeded, though it afterwards came right. Lord Lorne's property was forfeited, and Huntly restored to his estates. The Laird of Calder's heavy fine was not remitted. Brodie had effectuated nothing definitely for himself or his other poor friends.

Leaving London at noon of Wednesday, 14th May, 1662, after a stay of ten months, he reached Newcastle on Monday, and arrived in Edinburgh on the following Wednesday, taking eight days to the journey.

CHAPTER X.

DARK DAYS IN EDINBURGH.

WELL might Lord Brodie exclaim as he approached Edinburgh—"I see dark days before me!" He brought with him a letter of commendation from the King to the Scottish Chancellor, the Earl of Glencairne, on his own behalf, but that was to count for little. He had incurred the enmity both of Middleton and Glencairne, who suspected him of plotting against them, and he had hardly a friend in the new Parliament. Two northern lairds, Mackenzie of Tarbet and Urquhart of Cromarty, both influential members of the new Administration, were particularly violent against him, and insisted that he should be heavily fined. An Act of Indemnity had been prepared, with a list of exceptions. In that list of exceptions, in spite of the King's assurance of his royal favour, and notwithstanding the old debt due to him for the Breda expenses was still unpaid, Lord Brodie's name was entered—it was said for £40,000 Scots—and there

were threats that in addition he should have to repay the cess from which he had been exempted in former years. This meant absolute ruin. Lord Lothian and other friends advised Brodie to denude himself of his estates as quickly as possible and put his son in his stead. Brodie of Lethen was in the same evil plight. The list of fines, however, had yet to be confirmed by the King. When it was returned it was found that the Laird of Lethen's fine had been remitted. Lethen's fine remitted! The thing was inexplicable and incredible. "Why, Brodie of Lethen is the very worst of the lot," said the enraged Royalists. There was a great noise about it. Middleton, the Commissioner in Scotland, took upon himself to stop the remission, and sent a remonstrance to the King. According to a gossiping letter from London at the time, Charles was said to have been displeased with his Commissioner's interference with the Royal pleasure, and stuck to it. A few days later, however, word comes that the King had recalled the remission of Lethen, and had thanked Middleton for stopping it, "so that all seemed to be overturned and our pains lost and our confusions increased." Brodie of Lethen's temporary remission by the King was certainly a very extraordinary circumstance, and the guess may be hazarded in explanation that the King, pen in hand and in the hurry of the moment, mistook the name of Alexander Brodie of Lethen for that of Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, and for once wished to do the latter a good turn by striking his name out. When the Act is finally published in September it is found that Lord Brodie's fine is £4800 Scots, and he is subsequently declared incapable of

holding any public trust. This disqualification for public service which was intended to do him harm, turned out to be of much benefit to him, as he had in consequence no immediate occasion to take the obnoxious oath of allegiance or mix himself up with public proceedings.

Lord Brodie found many of his old friends in Edinburgh as staunch in the old ways as ever. The Scottish Parliament—the "Drunken Parliament" as it was called—at the King's bidding passed the Acts Recessory, cancelling the old Presbyterian constitution, restoring the Bishops, and declaring the King to be the head of the Church. Mr George Hutcheson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had been with Brodie at Breda, told him he would never acknowledge the Bishops or sit with them in Presbytery, or give them titles. Brodie could not come up to this standard. He explains his view of the situation to be this—"that the change which had taken place was against his will, but God having suffered it to be brought about, and the King and laws having established it, he purposed to be as submissive and peaceable as any." He resorted once more to Sharp, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, and submitted his case to him, desiring to have his assistance to deliver and free him from oppression and malice. That wily ecclesiastic told him he would do what he could for him in a private way, but could not own him in public! What Sharp actually did was to speak fair to his face and against him behind his back. "I did see the friendship of men fail and prove of little use, not to be leaned on." "I found no abatement of their malice, but it increased continually."

"Persons are failing and friends and my heart." Such are some of the pathetic wailings of the broken-hearted Laird of Brodie. He goes home, and on 20th September he arrives at Brodie Castle. It would have been better for his peace of mind had he never left it. But his faith was not lost. "I came home," he writes, "and had some of the Lord's goodness and promises towards me, as in the way of my return, in my daughter-in-law, and our company."

Badly as Lord Brodie had fared, he had got off more easily than many of his friends.

The Earl of Argyle was brought to trial on trumped-up charges, sentenced to death, and executed, though the case against him had utterly broken down. His innocence of the charges is beyond all doubt. Eleven years before he had placed the Scottish Crown on the head of Charles II. No sooner has Charles put on the English Crown than he has the head of the Scottish Earl cut off.

Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston evaded for a time the vengeance of the King by flight to the Continent, but he was tracked, taken prisoner, brought to Edinburgh and hanged, his head cut off and his body dismembered. The bold champion of the Scottish Kirk had only one grief, namely, that he had ever allowed himself to be tempted to take service under Cromwell, not that he regretted it for the King's sake, but for the cause of the Kirk. He died cheerfully for his old principles.

The hand of death had ere this removed Samuel Rutherford and James Durham from their earthly ministrations, but old

James Guthrie, who used to urge Lord Brodie to be steadfast in the old paths, still remained of the group, and this venerable, saintly old man was brought to the scaffold and hanged. "It is the first time a minister has been condemned to death in Scotland for his opinions," protested Lord Tweeddale, who vainly urged that banishment should be substituted for death. Guthrie's and Warriston's heads were affixed to the Netherbow. They were the proto-martyrs in the cause of religious liberty which had again to be fought out in Scotland.

Patrick Gillespie would have shared the same fate but for the powerful influence of friends. Livingstone and many other faithful ministers were banished the country and died in exile. Lorne was imprisoned in London, Cassillis' estates were forfeited, Lothian was nigh overwhelmed by fines. The Laird of Grant was fined £18,000 Scots; the Laird of Cawdor £12,000; and Brodie of Lethen £8000. And this was but the beginning of the Persecution.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DAYS OF PERSECUTION.

A GOOD deal had happened in Moray during Lord Brodie's two years' absence. The ministers of the Synod of Moray, with a few notable exceptions, had gone with the times. It used to be "My Lord Brodie," it was now "My Lord Bishop." The records of the Forres Presbytery show the clergy who conformed to be not only gratified but elated at the new dignity which had been bestowed on one of their number, and although most of them were brought up under the rule of Presbyterial equality, and all of them had solemnly sworn to be faithful to that principle, they could not, had they been trained in priestly subordination all their lives, shown more submissiveness and servility to their ecclesiastical superior than they now do.

This change of mind is unaccountable. It shows itself first of all in an extraordinary address sent by the Synod to the King

on his accession, which sets forth that the Assembly of Moray, convened at Elgin, had had a gracious proclamation from his Majesty anent Church affairs, by Providence brought into their hands, for which "we hold ourselves deeply engaged to bless the King of heaven and earth, who hath brought, restored, and established our gracious Sovereign over these Kingdoms, and has put it in his Majesty's royal heart, not only to look to the settlement of the civil state, but likewise to own the interests of Jesus Christ in the preservation of His precious truths in their purity and power. And as we are very sensible of his Majesty's care and gracious goodness in this, so we do promise, in an humble acknowledgment of our addebted allegiance, not only to disclaim former acts of disloyalty, whereby a yoke of slavery has been wreathed upon our necks by usurping oppressors in these years lately by-past; but also we shall still, in our ecclesiastical station, practise and preach up loyalty and obedience to his Majesty's authority and royal government. And we cannot but be confident that so pious, so wise, and gracious a King will still improve his royal power entrusted to him by God for the welfare of the Civil State and happy government of the Church of Christ in this his ancient kingdom, as it is expressed in his Majesty's gracious proclamation to that effect; and seeing we conceive ourselves and all within this nation, inhibited by his Majesty to meddle in matters belonging to Church government, we shall only seriously pray for the spirit of wisdom and right discerning to his Majesty that he may carry as the Lord's vicegerent set over us for signal mercy, after our long bondage under much

misery!" This is surely strange language for ministers of the Church of Scotland to use to an earthly sovereign.

The Synod of Moray in October, 1660, deposed Lord Brodie from the office of the eldership, not because of any present offence he had given, but because he and some others had protested against a finding of the Synod approving of some action of the Assembly of 1651—that is, nine years before. The members of the Synod knew perfectly well that Lord Brodie during the years that had elapsed had ceased to act with the Protestors, but in their zeal to stand well with the King and his new councillors, they entered at once on a course of retaliation against their former brethren, and raked up this thing against Lord Brodie and the others. The King in his manifesto had said that he was to maintain the resolutions of the Assembly of 1651, and the Synod of Moray had jumped to the conclusion that he intended punishing all their opponents—a conclusion which happened to be wrong. Mr James Brodie appeared before the Presbytery of Forres on behalf of his father in reference to this matter, but he got no redress. Some years later, however, Lord Brodie is found occasionally attending meetings of Presbytery, from which it may be gathered that the Synod, finding they had gone further than they were authorised, had departed from the act of deposition. So far as Lord Brodie was concerned, his deposition from the office of elder, as matters fell out, mattered little. In truth, it left him all the greater freedom to take the course he did.

The effect of the changes which Charles II. had introduced

did not come home to the people at first. The King had not attempted to introduce a Service Book. No change was made in the form of worship, save that the use of the Lord's Prayer was re-introduced—it had been discontinued in many congregations some years before, from the notion that it savoured too much of formality in worship. The doxology was introduced, and the repeating of the Apostle's Creed at baptism. Everything else in the ordinary worship of the Kirk remained as it had been. The old Sacramental Fast-days even were not interfered with. The Kirk Session was continued, and the Presbytery met as formerly, carrying on its discipline in precisely the same way, and making its periodical visitations of congregations according to the old form. It had been the custom of the Presbytery when visiting a congregation to ask the minister of it whether he had anything to report regarding his officebearers, who for the time were excluded from the meeting. The elders were then taken in, and the minister retired, and they were asked what they had to say about their minister, and had to answer to any charges he might have made against them. Then the minister was recalled, and told what his elders had said regarding him. The church officer or grave-digger—the two offices were usually combined—was dealt with in the same way. This old and very healthy custom was now followed by the Episcopal Presbytery in exactly the same way. The changes in the procedure of the Presbytery itself were very slight. The old practice of devoting the first hour of their meeting to the mutual edification of its members was retained. The very terms of this old exercise are now

unfamiliar or unknown to most Presbyterian ministers of the present day. According to appointment of the previous meeting a minister came prepared to "Exercise"—that is to say, to give a critical examination of some passage of Scripture in reference specially to its textual meaning and bearing. Another member came prepared to "Add"—the "Addition," not necessarily on the same passage, being an exposition of the doctrine and practical aspect of the subject chosen—all which was followed by discussion. The Presbytery was, however, deprived of the power of electing its own moderator. The use and wont was to nominate two members at the annual election, and they being removed, to vote upon them—a course which seems to imply that the office was not to be bestowed indiscriminately. The Bishop now elected the Moderator of Presbytery, who held office during the pleasure of his ecclesiastical superior. The Presbytery also had its privileges curtailed in the matter of licensing students. They still had to hear and sustain, or otherwise, the trial discourses of the student, but he had to get the Bishop's license before he could preach. The Synodical meetings were put on a new footing to secure the supremacy of the Bishop. The General Assembly was not revived—there was no place for it under the new system. So little break, however, was there in the transition from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, that the old minute-book of the old Presbytery of Forres is used in continuation of the record for the new court. It was a mongrel system of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism that had been established in Scotland.

Little disturbance as there was in the outward forms, the

change was not favoured by the great body of the people in the district in which Lord Brodie had his home. The more thoughtful saw in it a violation of one of the fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland—a principle always contended for, though not at all times conceded—namely, the spiritual independence of the Church. The ecclesiastical formula is "Christ's Headship over His Church." King Charles II. claimed to be head of the Church both in spiritual and temporal matters, and his claim was tacitly conceded in the new arrangements. There were others, like Lord Brodie, who, both on theoretical and practical grounds, objected to the re-establishment of Bishops. But the aspect which it presented to the people generally was this—those ministers who have accepted Episcopacy after having sworn to the Covenants abjuring that system were guilty of perjury. That was how it appeared to plain people in those times. It led to an enormous loss of moral power on the part of the ministers who had conformed. They might conduct the same form of worship, repeat the old shibboleths, and follow old Presbyterian ways, but their preaching had lost its unction and authority. But a short time elapses ere large numbers of the most pious, respectable, and influential persons in the district cease to attend the Parish Kirks. The ministers who had conformed are nicknamed "Curates," and are looked upon as mercenary hirelings and forsworn persons. With almost the single exception of the Earl of Moray, the whole landed gentry in the west part of Morayshire and throughout the whole of Nairnshire are unfriendly to the new order of things. The ladies

especially do not conceal their contempt for the ministers who had conformed.

Nairnshire was conspicuous in the North for the vehemence of its dislike to the change. In seeking to account for it, a brief glance at the ecclesiastical history of the district may be useful.

A strong root of evangelical religion had existed from very early times in the district. The early Celtic Church founded by St. Columba had evidently made a deep impression upon the low country from Inverness eastwards to Morayshire. The Church of Petty was dedicated to St. Columba. The Church of Cawdor (anciently "Ewen") was dedicated to Adamnan, a successor of St. Columba. The parish of Auldearn had St. Columba for its patron saint, and till quite recently observed St. Colm's Day ; and in Lord Brodie's own parish of Dyke, the village cross was an ancient cross-bearing slab, decorated with the religious symbols of the early Christian Church in Scotland. By a happy circumstance, this interesting and beautiful memorial of the ancient missionary church now stands in one of the avenues near the Castle. All over the district—at Croy, Cawdor, Nairn, and Forres, not to go further afield—relics of the Columban Church have survived the hand of time. Ecclesiastically the district was not neglected by the Roman Catholic Church, as far at least as appropriation of lands for the support of the Church was concerned. About one half of the whole lands within the County of Nairn belonged to the Church. Auldearn was the prebend of the Dean of Moray, and that high dignitary when not engaged in the Cathedral service at Elgin resided in the parish of

Auldearn—at "the great Stane Hoose" at Boathill, as the old records describe it; and his Episcopal successor, retaining the rank and remaining emoluments of the Dean, built for himself a very handsome three-storeyed residence at Penick, near the vicarage of Auldearn. The existence of this ecclesiastical connection tended to keep alive an interest in the institutions of the church. When the Reformation came, however, the whole fabric, organization, and influence of the Roman Catholic Church completely vanished. Pagan customs remain to this day, but hardly a single distinctively Roman Catholic practice has survived. The parishes at the Reformation were all planted with Protestant ministers, and when the supply of these fell short, with "Readers."

Probably, however, the warmth and fervour of religious feeling which prevailed in the Covenanting period were due in no inconsiderable measure to the ministrations of Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, one of the most eminent preachers in Scotland of the generation preceding. Bruce found his way into the districts of Nairn and Forres where he met with a most friendly reception. Large numbers of people travelled long distances to hear him preach, and he undoubtedly made a deep impression on the hearts of many of his hearers. He had been "banished" to Inverness for two periods, one of considerable duration.

Education in the district was very advanced for the time, There were excellent grammar schools at Nairn and Forres, Dyke and Auldearn, the teachers of which, usually graduates of the University and probationers of the Kirk, had to pass a pretty stiff examination in the Greek and Latin classics. It was required

of one schoolmaster that he should be able to pray in Latin. The Laird of Calder as a boy attended school at Forres. The young ladies of the district were sent to Aberdeen or Edinburgh to complete their education. From the numerous diaries written at this time, reading, writing, and composition were comparatively common accomplishments.

In whatever way it is to be accounted for, it is the fact that evangelical religion and sympathy for evangelical preachers existed at this time in a very marked degree in the lower districts of Moray and Nairn.

For the first few years after his return, Lord Brodie attended the Church of Dyke with his usual regularity, but he found the minister's discourses unprofitable and was otherwise dissatisfied. The minister of Dyke, Mr William Falconer, ran well in his younger days, as Lord Brodie would say. He was a member of the Glasgow Assembly which abolished the Bishops, and was actually one of the thirteen members of committee which framed the individual charges against them. When he meets Lord Brodie he is anxious to put himself right with him, and endeavours to explain away the inconsistency of his new position.

The minister of Dyke was a small laird. He was proprietor of the estate of Kincorth, where he resided, some two or three miles distant from the kirk. He never had a manse, though he often asked for one. In the palmy days of Presbytery, Lord Brodie was most anxious that this want should be supplied, and the site of the manse was actually fixed upon and the limits of the glebe defined. To the north, the glebe was to extend to the

Land Ends—a quaint description of the headland, beyond and below which was a track of carse land since over-run by the sand-drift.

Mr William Falconer, however, was apparently in the good graces of the new Bishop, for he made him the first Moderator of the Presbytery of Forres under the new regime, but for some reason or other got him to retire in favour of Mr Colin Falconer, the young minister of Forres, a few years later. The Dean of Auldearn was passed over in this arrangement, as his loyalty was in doubt from the first, and he eventually demitted his charge and sought refuge in the south of England.

Mr Murdoch Mackenzie, the new Bishop of Moray, had been as deeply committed to the old ways as any man in the Presbyterian Church. A chaplain under Gustavus Adolphus, he had been an ardent reformer in his younger days, and—so it is stated—signed the Covenants not less than fourteen times. Lord Brodie disliked the man from the beginning. When Brodie was enthusiastic about "promoting piety" by seeking to revive family worship, Mackenzie, then the minister of Elgin, threw cold water on his scheme. Brodie never minced words with him, but usually addressed him in a blunt, rough fashion, not at all in keeping with his ordinary courtesy, indicating that he thought him thick-skinned and worldly. Bishop Murdoch Mackenzie, in the new set of circumstances which had arisen, proved himself strong-willed, tyrannical, and not over scrupulous. His force of character probably dominated the wills of some of the weaker brethren, and made the Synod of Moray appear more forward

than it really was in welcoming the change. Some nine ministers in the united diocese of Moray and Ross alone refused to conform, and they were ejected from their charges and forbidden to reside within twenty miles of their respective churches. The keeping of the King's birthday on 29th May came to be regarded as a test of loyalty to Church and State.

Although deprived of their benefices these ministers had no intention of being silenced, and finding Nairnshire in particular a congenial field, several of them resorted thither. Hardly a week passed in this earlier period of the troubles but Lord Brodie had a visit from some of them, and they were all cordially welcomed as friends. All of them without exception were men of sincere piety; some of them were gifted preachers. The position in life of probably the majority of them gave them a good social standing. One half of their number belonged to the class of small proprietors then very numerous in the north; and though their properties were not large, and their means far from great, and soon to be wasted in the struggle, the connection added an element of influence and solidity to the movement they had entered upon. It was not long ere they showed the Bishop and his coadjutors that they were prepared to dispute the field with them. Three preaching stations, if they may be so called, came into special prominence, and were resorted to on Sundays by devout people from a wide district of country.

One of these was Penick, near Auldearn. By the irony of fate, the old house of the Dean of Moray became a centre of these great popular gatherings of Nonconformists. Nothing now

remains of the old house, or castle of Penick, as it was called, save a few ancient trees, the survivors apparently of the Dean's old avenue, but we know the house to have been three-storeys in height, with a fine lawn in front bordered on three sides by fields of the richest fertility in the district, and having at no great distance the Castle of Inshoch, to the north-east, on the verge of the Blasted Heath—a weird-looking peat moss many acres in extent. Here the assemblages of the Covenanters of Moray and Nairn took place on many a Sunday—a peaceful, pleasant spot.

It was no rabble of discontents who came together there. Lady Henrietta Stuart, wife of the Laird of Calder, and a daughter of the fourth Earl of Moray, was pretty sure to be there with her two daughters if the weather was at all favourable; it was nine miles from Kilravock to Penick, but that did not hinder a contingent of the Roses being occasionally hearers at Penick; the whole household of Lethen never missed a service if they could help it; Lord Brodie himself, finding that Lady Mary and her husband, their children and the household servants, had gone to "the sermon" at Penick, occasionally follows their example, and walks across the Hardmuir to Penick; the Brodies from Milton, Windihills, and Pluscardine, and even Pitgavenie, travel to the rendezvous of the Covenanting people. The distances which many of the people journeyed seem almost incredible, but it was really the case that men and women, some well-to-do, others of the humbler class, came in companies from Cromarty and Easter Ross, leaving their homes on Saturday afternoon and travelling all night. The preacher was usually Mr James

Urquhart. Penick now belongs to the Lairds of Brodie, but at that time it was the property of Hay of Park—a devoted Covenanter. Having Inshoch Castle for his own residence, he had given the house of Penick to James Urquhart, the evicted minister of Kinloss, though, truth to tell, about the time this arrangement was made the Laird of Park was much in the south, engaged in a second matrimonial venture, and at the same time fighting desperately against embarrassed circumstances. James Urquhart, who was married to a cousin of Lord Brodie's, was a somewhat stern, austere man, but he was greatly beloved by Lord Brodie—in fact, was his most intimate friend and counsellor. What distinguished Urquhart's preaching and that of others like-minded was the undefinable but real quality known as unction—earnest spirituality. Sometimes it was Thomas Hogg, the evicted minister of Kiltearn, who officiated. He was not only an eloquent and impressive preacher. He was a man of great ability and stood high above both his Presbyterian colleagues and his Episcopal opponents in capabilities and attainments. His intense convictions were often expressed in language of severity, but he was exceedingly tender-hearted and helpful to all in distress or trouble. Thomas Hogg had married a sister of the Laird of Park. Old Lady Park, as she was called, was a very devout woman, and Inshoch Castle was a veritable home of piety. The family, however, had by this time become very poor. Thomas Hogg took up his abode at Knockoudie, a farm-house on the Park property. It stood on the high ground to the south of Auldearn. Knockoudie became another centre for religious

meetings. Farther west, Mr Thomas Ross, a saintly old man, conducted a similar service at Croy. They were reinforced from time to time by such men as Fraser of Brey, M'Killican of Fodderty, Hugh Anderson of Cromarty, young Gillespie, and others. All these, whatever might be their special gifts, had the fragrance of sanctity which comes from personal sacrifice for conscience sake. These services were of a purely religious character. Of course the controversial questions of the day found a place in the preaching of the clergy, but there was no note of disloyalty to the monarchy, such as was evolved among the Covenanters of the West. The result of these services was that large numbers of the people of the district discontinued attendance at the Parish Kirk—ceased to "hear," it was called. Lord Brodie's position was one of much perplexity, both to himself and to others. He could not on principle condemn the new church as no church and its ministers as no ministers, and yet his heart and conscience were alienated from them. One Sunday in March, 1673, left at home in Brodie Castle, we find him writing—"My good daughter and Tho., and Main and their wives, went to Penick. They have now lively preaching; and the persons and their cause I like best; yet I am tied to attend the dead ministry of others, yet lawful ministers, but have failed in the exercise of their office, and do fail, and of far less gifts and furniture. This I do for preserving order, and to prevent confusion and disorder; waiting, but desperate in my waiting, to see if God will vouchsafe an outget and make way for able and faithful preachers, 'ministers not of the letter only but of the

Spirit.' Had they faithfulness, diligence, gifts, and endowments, I hold their ministry lawful, even that enter by bishops, and acknowledge them, albeit I do prefer the other government if rightly administered ; but the Lord has humbled us in that also. Greater confusions have not been at any time than our divisions produced by our assemblies." From this it will be seen that Lord Brodie did not claim divine appointment for Presbyterianism, as his old friend Johnston of Warriston did. Believing that it was the best of all systems of ecclesiastical government, Lord Brodie perceived at the same time that one of the weaknesses of Presbyterianism is its tendency to split as soon as moderation is driven from its counsels. He also saw the mischief that was done when ministers of the Kirk interfered with matters pertaining to the civil government. If the civil magistrate may not interfere with the Kirk, neither should kirkmen interfere with the civil magistrate in his ordering of civil affairs. Such was Lord Brodie's shrewd remark on the political aspect of the question in his day. If he acknowledges the defects and weaknesses of the Presbyterian Kirk, he has, however, no love for Prelacy. His objection is not merely to the ceremonies, or ritual, but to the positions assumed by Bishops. Mr William Falconer, the young minister of Dyke, who succeeded in 1674, expostulated one day with Lord Brodie for not coming to hear him. "I told him," says Brodie, "it was not from prejudice against him more than others, but being dissatisfied with the constitution and government as it now is, I did withdraw, lest my hearing might be construed a consent and compliance. I

told him that besides the Covenant I held the civil places of kirkmen unlawful and inconsistent with the office of a minister of Christ. To sit on life and death, and on civil things of fining, punishment corporal, and the like, earthly dignities as princes having preference before dukes and marquises, was unseeming and inconsistent. I durst not disclaim the present ministers of the Church of Scotland, but I did hold them guilty of gross defections and corruptions." He meets his old opponent, Bishop Murdoch Mackenzie, one day, and asked him what he was doing with the Nonconformists. The Bishop answered, if they would obey the King's laws he would do them no harm. Brodie replied that there was no more obedient subjects, albeit they could not own Bishops, or those that entered by them, because they hold that they were perjured and had no lawful calling. The Bishop replied something to the effect that they would remit that question to impartial divines. Brodie said the Bishop could not himself deny but that they were godly, learned men, who preached the Gospel soundly, and why then did he not, as Christ bade his disciples, let them alone, and forbid them not to preach, albeit they follow not us? The Bishop said he would do any favour to them, if they sought it. It was about this time Bishop Murdoch Mackenzie was offered the Bishopric of Orkney. Lord Brodie chaffed the Bishop about it. He asked him if it was true he was to accept the fat goose of Orkney—remarking it was no divine consideration to remove to a fatter benefice, for Orkney was twice as good. The Bishop pithily replied—"A goose is good, and the fatter the better!" Brodie challenged

him for having given false information against him to the Chancellor, and bitterly remarked that they who were false to God would be false to men. However, when the Bishop was leaving, he sent his carts to help him to remove his household stuff. Neighbourliness survived their disagreements.

Lord Brodie's perplexity is shown by a little incident he records as having happened on 29th May, 1676, the Thanksgiving Day for the King—"I intended to have gone in and heard Mr William preach this day, but not thinking it sinful I intended to remove some prejudice or disesteem of myself, as if I were wholly against hearing of those who conform. When I had gone the length of Dyke, and the bell ringing, I turned aside and looked up to God for direction, and after some struggling I did wholly forbear lest I should stumble and offend honest men in hearing, and countenancing their holy days, both at once."

The Nonconformist ministers took a step further. The congregations which assembled at Penick and Knockoudie became much too big for their accommodation, and the services during summer were held in a ravine or strype in the brae face at the farm of Dalmore—a granite boulder for a pulpit and the blue sky for a canopy. It was resolved to celebrate the Sacrament on an appointed day. The people, who had voluntarily deprived themselves of this ordinance for several years, rejoiced greatly at having once again the opportunity of communicating. It was a solemn gathering that day in the strype, and much spiritual blessing was enjoyed in the service. Lord Brodie and his son did not attend for prudential reasons. "Fear of offence and

separation and singularity kept me from the Sacrament at Knockoudie," records Lord Brodie, but, he says, " My soul longs for Thee in that ordinance, which Thou hast not enjoined without cause." He met one day on the road the wife of a neighbour, who told him that she was going to the Sacrament at St. Cyrus, in the Mearns, where her father was minister, and offered to get her father to postpone it for a week if Lord Brodie would like to attend. This seemed a favourable opportunity of which he was eager to avail himself, but unfortunately the date could not be altered—so the minister of St. Cyrus wrote him a few days later.

The celebration of the Sacrament at Knockoudie was an event which stirred the anger of the Bishop and his clergy. It seemed to them the climax of a course of lawless conduct. The matter was reported to the Privy Council in Edinburgh, and an order was issued to the Earl of Moray and Lord Duffus to apprehend and imprison the two officiating ministers, Thomas Hogg and M'Killican, and with them Thomas Urquhart, the ejected minister of Essil, who had had the audacity to preach in Elgin under the Bishop's nose. Their confinement in the prison of Forres created a great sensation. It was the first serious blow that had been struck at the Covenanters in the district. It aroused intense indignation against the Prelatical party, and many who had hitherto kept aloof from the Nonconformists now openly took their part. The visits of friends to the prison at Forres were not forbidden, and the three ministers held a sort of daily levee. Through the good offices of Lord Tweeddale, they were after a while liberated.

Besides the casual remarks already given, we have a deliberate statement of Brodie's views on the whole position in a document of some formality, drawn up by himself in the expectation that he might have to plead before the Commission appointed to be held in Elgin, in December, 1676. He says—"I have scarcely all my life been called before the bar of any judicature, and now I thank God it is not for any evil or wickedness, oppression of my neighbour, treason, or rebellion, or insurrection against my Sovereign the King: in this I joy; but it is for my humble desire to keep my conscience undefiled, and that I be not involved with others in taking the ever blest name of God in vain. I keep no unlawful meetings, but that I partake with my friend and relation in his family exercises within the walls of my own house, and that but very seldom—for it I may rather deserve blame than reproof. The worship we perform, as it is with reverence to God, so with reverence to the King's Majesty, for whom we pray as for our own souls. I count it not unlawful to hear those who conform, nor dare I condemn them that hear, especially when they have no others. It is true I hear seldomer than I would, first, because their ministry is not lively and others I find more lively on my heart; second, I have dislike of and am stumbled greatly at their entry and admission and acting, seeing their constitution is not consisting and agreeable with the rules and precept of Scripture and the Apostles: wordly glory, ambition, pomp, civil dominion, jurisdiction, places, dignities and offices, and honours civil and criminal, above all subjects, even above the princes of the royal blood, lordly

dignities very incompatible with the office of the true ministers of Christ, who should watch for the souls of people ; third, this very thing, civil places and dignities of Churchmen, which we call Prelacy, as it is a human, sinful device of man, without warrand in the Word of God, so it has been abjured solemnly in their ages past, by the consent of Kings and their Parliaments, even three Kings successively ; and let no man do our royal Monarch that wrong as to say, it was by force ; for with as much cheerfulness as could be exprest, no army, nor violence used ; and applied expressly in terms and declared to be meant, Bishops, Deans, Archdeans, Chapters, &c. The oath being on a matter lawful, and engrossed by the Kings of this realm, ratified and consented to—and the people and I having taken this engagement, I dare not so far defy God as to violate His oath and take His name in vain ; for it is no light thing ; nor can a thousand Parliaments, and Emperors and Popes absolve from it or dispense with a lawful oath made to God—it's not man we have to do with, or can require the breach, but God ; fourth, I shall wish and pray that the King's Majesty may see his safety and preservation and the stability of his royal government to be more surely bottomed on the true affections of his people than on the civil places of Kirkmen, to the wounding of the consciences of his faithful subjects. As for my loyalty there's none of my condition within all his Kingdom that detests and abhors disloyalty more, and that shall more willingly pour out his blood and life at his feet than I shall do."

In this finely expressed passage, Lord Brodie strikes the true

Covenanting note. The Marquis of Argyle, in his speech on the scaffold, expressed himself in almost identical terms—"I desire to remind you of your duty in adhering to the Covenant, for whatever man can think, no magistrate on earth can absolve you from that oath and obligation." "As to the work of reformation, I endeavoured to carry it on, and I judge it no disloyalty to do so, for true religion and loyalty do well consist together."

A well-thumbed copy of Argyle's speech is preserved in the charter-room of Kilravock Castle, with which Brodie and his Covenanting friends were doubtless familiar.

Although Lord Brodie was not called before the particular Commission for which he had prepared his defence beforehand, his conduct was regarded in a very unfavourable light by the Government in Edinburgh. Archbishop Sharp and Haltown, the Treasurer-Depute (a brother of the Duke of Lauderdale), strongly urged that he should be summoned and fined, and in a private letter from a correspondent to his brother in Edinburgh, it is stated that he was "ill reported at Court" and his family greatly taken notice of for their encouragement of "conventicles"—the term used to describe the services held outside the Parish Kirk. Later on, he is blamed in the South for all the conventicles in Moray. His moderation did not save him from misrepresentation.

Lord Brodie felt aggrieved at the Earl of Moray for acting against him. To do the Earl justice, however, he was placed in a very difficult position. He held high office in the Government and was in great favour at Court, and had been appointed a Commissioner in Moray to enforce the obnoxious

Acts. Personally he regarded the Covenanters as a set of fanatics, and their continuance in openly defying the law against the holding of conventicles almost at his very door roused him to anger. Lord Brodie and his family were on terms of social intimacy and friendliness with the Morays. The Earl and Lady Moray dined frequently at Brodie Castle, and the Brodies were regular visitors at Darnaway Castle. Sometimes when the Earl was in the South, Mr James Brodie and Lady Mary would go over to help to entertain the young people at Darnaway, or they would be brought over to spend the day at Brodie. But on public questions the Earl of Moray and Lord Brodie could not agree. Brodie's counsels of moderation had sometimes, however, a good effect on his lordship. The Act against Conventicles required that no more than four people should be present at any house where religious worship was conducted. How about the services at Penick? The Earl determined to imprison Mr James Urquhart for contumacy in continuing these services. Brodie was most anxious to save his friend, and braved the Earl's anger in speaking up for him. The Earl was inexorable. As mediator between the two, Lord Brodie got the minister to promise that he would discontinue these services in the meantime, and the Earl accepted the pledge and departed from his threat of imprisonment. To make it easier for Mr James Urquhart, Lord Brodie got him coaxed to stay at Brodie Castle, and merely conduct ordinary family worship in the house. One day, however, the young Laird of Innes (Brodie's brother-in-law) and his wife came on a visit to Brodie Castle. The Inneses, like the

Brodies, were on the side of the Covenanters, and Lord Brodie, without thinking he ran any risk, invited Mr James Urquhart to "speak a word" to them—that is, to give a short address at prayers. The minister did so. The Earl of Moray came to hear of it, and was very wroth. He at once issued a summons for Urquhart's appearance before his Court at Elgin. Lord Brodie went to see the Earl about it. "I did visit the Earl of Moray in the afternoon and spoke with him anent Mr James Urquhart. He expressed his anger at me for calling Mr James Urquhart, when the Lady Innes was here. I said neither he nor I had done any fault. But he was inexorable and would not dispense with his appearance, and he behoved either to give surety not to keep conventicles or else be imprisoned or else remove out of the country." Lord Brodie maintained that he had not sinned against God or the laws of men in permitting Mr James Urquhart to speak in his house on the day in question. The minister himself was quite prepared to appear before the Court, and to maintain his right as a minister of Christ to speak when and where he chose. He was, however, induced to go South for a time, until the Earl's wrath abated.

On another occasion Lord Brodie championed the cause of a lady before the irate Earl. A very remarkable woman, Catherine Collace, belonging to Fifeshire, who had been brought north by the old Lady Park to teach needlework, was a moving spirit among the ladies of the district. She was devotedly attached to the ministry of Thomas Hogg, and as she had the entree to all the houses in the county, she had naturally the ear of the ladies.

She was very highly educated for one in her position, though in truth she may be regarded as a governess rather than as a sewing-woman. Her character inspired great respect, and Lord Brodie records a conversation he had with her on religious subjects, wherein, though she had taken him to task for his latitudinarian tendencies, he answers her with as great deference and courtesy as if she had been the highest lady in the land. Catherine Collace incurred the displeasure of the Earl of Moray. He knew the power she was, and he had her summoned before his Court at Elgin. Lord Brodie interceded for her, but the Earl would be satisfied only with her removing from the district, and accordingly she returns to Falkland, where she opens a school and writes her "memoirs" of the events through which she had passed in Nairnshire.

With Thomas Hogg, Fraser of Brae, and John M'Killican, the Earl of Moray deals very sternly. He will not hear a word in their favour, and could not rest until they were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, where, after trial, they were imprisoned on the Bass Rock, undergoing miseries and degradations of the most atrocious character. Their offence was their refusal to cease preaching, aggravated by their having had the audacity to set up a Presbytery of their own, known as the Field Presbytery of Moray.

The severities of the persecution for Nonconformity amongst the various classes of the people of Nairnshire were modified to a large extent by the conciliatory and humane disposition of the Sheriff of the County, the Laird of Calder. Sir Hugh Campbell

appears to have been a perfectly unique personage. Materials do not exist for a full-length portrait of the man, but sufficient is known to bring out some very distinct features of his character. One day he and his workmen were carrying a heavy stone across the drawbridge at Cawdor Castle, when suddenly the bridge gave way and they and the stone were precipitated into the moat. It was a miracle they were not crushed to death. In the affairs of his life, Sir Hugh was running similar risks—now it was the burden of debt accumulated by his ancestors, now it was the displeasure of the Privy Council or the loss of favour at Court. But Sir Hugh surmounted every difficulty. When the family estates in Islay had brought him to the verge of financial ruin, he begins restoring Cawdor Castle and adding a wing to it, as if he had means in abundance. Things always come right if you only have patience, was Sir Hugh's philosophical view of life. One day he seems to be crushed by the heavy fines laid upon him by the Government; the next time you meet him he is pledging his security on behalf of some poor Covenanter, or at the risk of his own safety urging the Lords of the Privy Council to leniency in the matter of imprisonment or fines. As Sheriff of Nairnshire it fell to him to administer the obnoxious Acts of Council. His strong common-sense rebelled against their petty tyranny. One of the ways in which the Privy Council sought to enforce conformity to the ecclesiastical changes was to fine all who absented themselves from the Parish Church. The amount of the fines was regulated according to the station in life of the offenders, and for the greater encouragement in performance of

his duty the Sheriff was to get the fines of the commonality for himself. With the cognisance of Calder, his depute in Nairn, when things were at their worst, made a show of rigorously enforcing the fines for non-attendance at church, but secretly returned the money to the offenders through their friends. The Laird of Calder, Sheriff of Nairn, recognised the incredible meanness of the character of the measures and treated them with contempt. On one occasion a Covenanting preacher was by instructions of the Privy Council apprehended at Thurso, and was ordered to be handed over from sheriff to sheriff until delivered in Edinburgh—a spiteful piece of procedure. The culprit was passed to the Sheriff of Inverness, and he in turn handed him over to the Sheriff of Nairn—who appointed him his private chaplain and kept him for six months in his house, only giving him up under the direst threats, and going to Edinburgh with him to stand by him in his trials! The Earl of Rothes, as Chancellor, wrote the Laird of Calder a strong rebuke, letting him know how his conduct was regarded in official circles in Edinburgh. The Earl of Moray's commission to enforce the laws against conventicles was designedly made wide enough to cover the dereliction of duty in this matter by the Sheriff of Nairn. Long years after, the Laird of Calder could boast that with the exception of two or three, through their own perversity, not one person had paid a fine in the county and shire over which he had jurisdiction. He had the happiness to live to see his principles triumph and his worldly fortunes recover.

CHAPTER XII.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS.

LORD BRODIE'S health having become affected, he tried the waters of various wells of local celebrity. There was one well "over Spey" which crowds frequented on the recurrence of certain old festivals, bringing with them votive and other offerings to the "Spirit of the Well." Against this practice the Presbytery of Forres had over and over again protested, and they threatened the censures and discipline of the Church against those who countenanced such superstitious observances. Needless to say, it was not to this "Well over Spey" that Lord Brodie resorted, but to a spring on the farm of Dipple celebrated for its medicinal virtues. He stayed at Innes, and went regularly every day for a week to drink the waters, which he thought did him some good. There was a well nearer home, however, which Brodie was recommended to try, and on the 12th of August—it was the year 1672—Brodie goes there to drink the waters and play golf.

"I passed this day there," he says, "and made use of golfing for exercise of the body." The well—a chalybeate spring on the farm of Rhives—has recently been filled up, and the golf course, probably the rough ground at the foot of the Heldon Hill, is now under cultivation. A few days later he records, "this day I returned to the well at Rhives to drink the water and desiring to use it as a means through His blessing to prevent the disease which I am subject unto." He mentions Mr Colin Falconer drank the waters of the well with him, and they recreated the body by pastime at golf. They spend nearly a week together, putting up for the night, sometimes at Burgie and at other times at Windihills, and on one occasion Lord Brodie and his partner dined in a barn, the reason assigned being that Brodie desired to withdraw from company a little—apparently the golf course, like the well, was much frequented. Thomas Ross, an outed minister who had long been officiating at Kilravock, comes up with the Laird of Grange to see Brodie, but the stern old Covenanter had "no opinion" of the well, and declined Mr Colin's company. Poor old man! A few weeks later the Earl of Moray swooped down upon him, threw him into the wretched prison at Nairn, from which he was released at his earnest entreaty, and transferred to the prison of Tain, not a whit better, where he was confined for two whole years, liberated only to die soon after of a low fever. Brodie enjoyed his recreation, but he exclaims, "Lord, let this be no snare to me!" He is a good deal annoyed on learning that the common people took exception to his drinking the waters of the well of Rhives, "as if he placed

some holiness in the well, or saints, or such creatures"—which in his case was too absurd to be thought of.

It is curious to notice, however, that a higher standard of conduct is set up by his humble but over-strict neighbours for Brodie than for the minister of Forres, although the latter was probably the most highly esteemed of all the Episcopal clergy within the diocese, and was soon to be raised to the position of a Bishop. "I would rather have him Bishop than any other," was Lord Brodie's remark. The Presbytery records bear that Mr Colin Falconer was a conscientious and painstaking minister. The only matter which troubled him at this time was that he was compelled to read the Scriptures publicly himself, having no one competent to do it for him—apparently the old practice of having a "reader" to begin the morning service had still survived.

Burgie Castle, where Brodie and the coming Bishop put up, was the scene of an extraordinary occurrence a few years before. The stately old turretted castle of Burgie, situated on a rising ground overlooking the plain of Moray about two miles south-east of Kinloss, belonged to the family of Dunbar. They had fallen into embarrassed circumstances, and the property was heavily mortgaged. It was a burden from the ill-requited services to the King in the old days when Moray lairds took the field for him against the English Army, hazarding their lives and their fortunes for his cause. When the Scottish Army were routed at the Battle of Dunbar, they were in dire straits for want of provisions. The Laird of Brodie himself was Commissary-

General at the time, as we have seen, and he got his nephew, the Laird of Lethen, to advance a considerable sum of money to keep the troops from famishing. Lethen was not the only north-countryman who came to the relief of the troops. Robert Dunbar, Laird of Burgie, gave his personal obligation for over £1000 sterling—a large sum in those days—to several millers and mealdealers for supplies of food—biscuits and oatmeal—when the troops reached Stirling. In acknowledgment he received Nimmo, the acting Commissary's receipts in due form. Time and again he had applied for repayment to the Government when the King had come to his own, but was always put off on one technical ground or other, the real reason being (so he alleged) that Lauderdale had a private grudge against him. An Edinburgh mealdealer, named M'Bean, who had supplied part of the victual, got decreet against Dunbar of Burgie, and, failing to get payment, had him put in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he was kept for six and a-half years. The other bondholders threatened to foreclose. Thomas Dunbar of Grange, a neighbour and relative (they were both descended from sons of Alexander Dunbar, the Dean of Moray, who had married Catherine Reid, niece of the Abbot of Kinloss), purchased the property from old Robert Dunbar, discharged the bonds and took possession of the old Castle of Burgie. Young Dunbar, son of the old Laird of Burgie, attacked the Castle with a band of armed men, captured it, and turned out its inmates. He then proceeded to fortify it, and to hold it against all concerned. An act of such gross lawlessness, even in a time when the public peace was not too well

preserved, caused great excitement and commotion. Dunbar of Grange applied to the civil authorities for redress, and all the forms of law in the shape of summonses, warnings, and executions were resorted to. But they had no effect. Young Dunbar of Burgie refused to give up the place, and paid no heed to the processes of the law courts. The Earl of Moray used all his powers of friendly persuasion, but he found young Dunbar obdurate. The matter was reported to the Privy Council, and the Chancellor, the Earl of Rothes, ordered the assembling of troops to accompany the herald to summon the Castle, in the King's name, to surrender. Accordingly, John Basillie, herald, appeared before the Castle of Burgie, displayed the King's coat-of-arms, and his trumpets summoned the Castle to instantly surrender, failing which an assault would be made upon it. Young Dunbar saw that further defiance was out of the question, and gave in, and the Castle of Burgie was restored to Grange after more than two months' resistance. It was to show hospitality to the Laird of Brodie and the minister of Forres, at the end of their day's golfing, that Dunbar of Grange came by Forres to his hard-won possession on the 22nd of August, 1672.

While Lord Brodie did not believe in saints' days and sacred wells, there was one superstition—the superstition of witchcraft, in which unhappily he, in common with even the best men of his time, believed. It is amazing that a man like Lord Brodie, whose keen intellect penetrated to the heart of most things, did not discern the true character of this horrible delusion. The belief in witchcraft, handed down from the Dark Ages, was

prevalent, if not universal, in his day. Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Catholics alike shared in it. King James VI. in the preceding generation had given the hunt for witches a fresh start, and it still ran on. Auldearn, Dyke, and Forres, were conspicuous centres of witchcraft, and Lord Brodie on several occasions presided at the trial of witches. He would have been still more engaged in "purging the land of witchcraft" were it not for the circumstance that he was not nominated on the special commissions for witch trials on account of his strained relations with the Privy Council. Brodie has occasional stirrings of conscience in regard to the whole matter, but though much perplexed he regards witchcraft as a phase of spiritual darkness and devilry—"Satan having set up his very throne amongst us!" His vision in this matter was, alas! bounded by the horizon of his day. It remains one of the shadows in the picture of an eminently good and humane man.

A few incidents of a personal nature bring out some distinctive traits in the character of Lord Brodie.

It happens sometimes that a man of his strict views keeps himself to himself in cold reserve and passionless isolation, gracious enough it may be to the outside world, but stern, morose, and unbending within his own domestic circle. It was quite otherwise with him. As years advanced his affections deepened. In the year 1676 his son James Brodie fell dangerously ill. Lord Brodie was deeply affected. "My life," he exclaimed, "is bound up in him." "He is of all creatures dearest to me." "I desire, if it be the will of God, to be removed rather

than my son." His natural feelings were not crushed by his religious views, he but sought the more for the grace of resignation to the divine will. His son recovered, but the fever left his strength weakened for years.

One day Lord Brodie's daughter, who had married Dunbar, younger of Grangehill, brought her little son Robert with her to call for his grandfather at Brodie Castle. Dunbar of Grangehill had by this time received the honour of Knighthood from Charles II., and of course was not in sympathy with Lord Brodie's views on Church and State, but there had been no interruption in their social intercourse, though Lord Brodie thought there was too much love of gaiety and worldly display at Grangehill. Dressed in his best suit, the boy made a favourable impression on his worthy grandfather's heart, and all went well until Lord Brodie discovered that his grandson had never learnt the Shorter Catechism! It was even a little worse than that, for he had never been taught to read. He was barely ten years of age at the time, however. His mother received a very severe reproof, and little Robert Dunbar went home very crestfallen on finding that in the opinion of his grandfather there were somethings in which he was not altogether perfect.

An incident which occurred near the close of his life shows that Lord Brodie retained to the end his conviction of the efficacy of formal bonds of religious dedication. It was the occasion of the marriage of his grand-daughter Ann. Finding his three grandchildren in the drawing-room, he records—"I did speak to Ann, Catherine and Elizabeth, my poor grandchildren, and asked

if they were content to enter in covenant with Him, and they consented, and gave themselves to the Lord to be His for ever, and accepted the Lord to be their God and took on His bands." Ann married the Master of Forbes. Her lot in after years was not altogether a happy one, but she was sustained in her trials and difficulties by the remembrance of this act of dedication by her venerable grandfather. Catherine, a few years later, married her cousin, young Robert Dunbar of Grangehill, who no doubt by this time had learned his Catechism, but even then was described by his friends as flighty. Elizabeth, the third daughter, had no end of wealthy suitors, but she married her near kinsman, George Brodie of Asliesk, and proved herself an exemplary matron, succeeding her mother in the progress of time as mistress at Brodie Castle.

On one occasion Lord Brodie got into a heated controversy with his friend Thomas Hogg over some theological question. Both disputants pushed their contentions to extremes, and lost their tempers. Brodie, however, called his friend aside and affectionately asked him, why he was so angry with him? Was it not the case that they cared for the same thing, and had the same object of their love and hatred, although it might not be in the same degree? Brodie's display of affectionate feeling appears to have vanquished his opponent—they never quarrelled again!

Lord Doune, eldest son of the Earl of Moray, was a perfect scapegrace. His escapades were a scandal to the country-side. Lord Brodie hears that one night at eleven o'clock, he had fled

from his father's house, and they knew not where he was. Lady Mary Brodie goes over to Darnaway Castle to sympathise with Lady Moray. Lord Brodie a day or two later proceeds on a similar mission. By this time, the heir to the Earldom of Moray had been found, and Lord Brodie expressed his indignation at the young man's folly, but wound up with inviting him to dinner next day! He evidently considered that to restore the young man's self respect was the best form of dealing with him. "I desired to do it to God, if possible to divert the young man, and to have some sympathy with his mother," he said. Lord Doune accordingly dined at Brodie next day, and no doubt the worthy laird, if he did not take occasion after dinner to remonstrate with him regarding his on-goings, at least let him understand that better things were expected of him.

The Sustentation Fund may be said to have been founded at Brodie Castle. We read of conferences at Brodie of the lairds favourable to the Nonconformist ministers, for the purpose of devising some means for their support, and a voluntary fund was established out of which the ministers were to receive aid towards their maintenance. The Lairds of Lethen, Kilravock, and Calder, along with Lord Brodie, were the principal subscribers to the fund, which had to be administered with secrecy and circumspection, lest it should come to the Bishop's ears. It is a noteworthy circumstance that the first action of Lord Brodie's son after his father's death is to revive the kindly custom of supplying the needs of the "honest folks," as they are called, out of the voluntary contributions of their friends.

Towards the close of his life Lord Brodie accuses himself of a spirit of niggardliness. No outward circumstances, as far as they are known, give any colour or countenance to this self accusation of his. The hospitality of his house is as generous and unstinted as ever. His outburst of sorrow may have arisen from the consciousness of some severe fits of economy which had overtaken him, as they sometimes do the best of men. It is no uncommon experience that as age advances men of ample means become less liberal than in their younger and less affluent days, and it is possible that the Laird of Brodie, who never spared himself in the analysis of his motives and tendencies, may have detected something of this feeling of worldliness gaining ground in his heart. That it dominated his character to any serious extent is extremely improbable. It should not be overlooked, that while by his prudent management, the Laird of Brodie was once more a man of substance, he had during the latter part of his life to maintain a ceaseless fight against the rapacity of his political enemies, who were ever on the watch to accomplish his ruin.

One of Lord Brodie's characteristics was his sympathy with and liking for young men entering the ministry. He was, however, a keen judge of character. He readily distinguished between those who were worldly, self-seeking, or conceited, and those who were earnest and noble-minded. One of the strongest friendships of his life was his attachment to a young relative, Alexander Dunbar. We meet with young Dunbar first as the schoolmaster of Auldearn, after having graduated at Aberdeen University. It was he who recorded the Confessions of Isobel

Goudie, who was tried at Auldearn for witchcraft, the fullest judicial record of such proceedings extant in Scotland. As Session Clerk, it fell to him to record the proceedings, but it does not appear whether he shared the views of the Commission. Probably he did at this time, but we know in after years he disbelieved entirely in witchcraft. An entry in the records of the Presbytery of Forres shows that he had finished his studies for the ministry about the time Episcopacy was reintroduced. He passed his "trials" before the Presbytery with distinction, and was recommended to the Bishop for license as a preacher. Alexander Dunbar, however, declined the Bishop's license, and attached himself to the Nonconformist cause. He was for a time chaplain and tutor at Kilravock, but Bishop Murdoch Mackenzie never rested till he got him discharged. His sympathies were too strongly evangelical to be pleasing to the Bishop. Alexander Dunbar was not, however, going to be suppressed by the Bishop. He threw himself with great ardour into the struggle for religious liberty, and is the heart and soul of the meetings at Penick and Knockoudie. He becomes the fast friend of Thomas Hogg, Fraser of Brey, and the other outed ministers, and goes on missionary tours with young Gillespie and others through neglected districts of the country. During the height of the early struggle he goes to Edinburgh and is ordained to the ministry by the Field Presbytery of Edinburgh. He has taken his side and has the courage to play his part. Lord Brodie induces him to take up his abode at Brodie Castle, ostensibly as chaplain, but really as his own personal friend and favourite—

one too who might need his protection in the troublous times through which he was passing. The day came, however, when Brodie Castle was unable to afford him protection, and the devoted youth had to share with his fellow Covenanters the horrors of imprisonment on the Bass Rock.

Lord Brodie's courtesy and civility formed marked features of his character. Although at variance with the Parish Minister of Dyke, he never allowed their differences to interfere with neighbourly intercourse. The old Minister of Dyke, Mr William Falconer, in his later years could not count on the Laird of Brodie for much countenance in his public ministrations, but he always found him friendly and agreeable. And when the old minister was laid aside by sickness, Brodie frequently visited him, talking with him on spiritual things, and praying with him. His successor, also a William Falconer, son of Mr Colin Falconer, who became Bishop of Moray, had been educated in England, and put on rather too many fine airs to quite please the people of Dyke. Brodie certainly did not like the young man, and considered him a very poor preacher, but while not admitting him to any close intimacy, even when his son was dangerously ill declining his services, he maintained perfectly free and unstrained social intercourse with him to the very end. Perhaps of all the guests at Brodie Castle, the Laird of Spynie was the most difficult to manage. He was a son of Bishop Douglas of Spynie, having succeeded to the property of Spynie in the year 1650, and was probably about Brodie's own age. He was a terrible thorn in Brodie's side, a fire-eating Royalist, a fierce

hater of the Presbyterians, and a sworn foe of all Lord Brodie's friends and favourites, openly deriding and caricaturing them. When the Laird of Spynie paid a visit to Brodie Castle, the Laird's courtesy was strained to the utmost. But they never actually fell out—the cutting east wind from Spynie only bracing up Brodie's sensitive nerves. Although Brodie never attained to a full view of toleration—it only came in with William and Mary—he disliked intolerance and uncharitableness in judgment. He had more than once somewhat heated discussions with his Covenanting friends on points of that character. He was in wont to remind them that all goodness and piety were not confined to the Church of Scotland even in its best days, and that the Protestant Churches of the Continent had exhibited fully as much steadfastness and faithfulness as they had ever done. Nay, he added, "exceeded us in zeal, love, fervency, suffering for Christ, which are the most material parts of religion." His outlook was larger than that of most of his contemporaries, and when they took umbrage at his moderation and tolerance, they but revealed the narrowness and bigotry of their own spirit.

The Laird of Brodie's visiting of the sick in his neighbourhood would put to blush many a minister and elder of the Kirk in modern days. He would undertake long rides in the depth of winter to pay a visit of sympathy to some distressed friend, and he never failed to direct the minds of those he visited to the highest source of spiritual comfort and blessing. His grief over his departed friends is often very touching and pathetic, as for example, the tribute he wrote in his diary to his kinswoman the

Lady Kilravock :—"This is a stroke which I desire to understand. Is it not matter of mourning and humiliation when the righteous are taken away—when the chief among us for affection and zeal are plucked away? How great a loss to the poor distressed folk in these places—ministers and others—their true Dorcas—and more—a mother in Israel—their refuge! Who shall take care of them now? Lord raise up others! Hast thou not the residue of the Spirit? They are now wholly cast on Thee, no less than her children and family. What will there be in that family where she was placed, and Thou wast served?"

Brodie had a perfect passion for friendship. On one occasion some misunderstanding had arisen between himself and his neighbour, the Laird of Park, as to marches. Brodie's friendship was strained to the utmost. "I see it difficult and almost impossible to retain this man; yet I desire nothing may separate me from him in the Lord." Brodie made renewed overtures for peace, which were happily successful. Hearing that the young Baron of Kilravock was not behaving in a very friendly manner to the Laird of Calder, he counsels him to seek the things that make for peace. Friendly intercourse was a religious duty as well as a natural privilege. He called to mind the days of yore when Kilravock's father was the great peacemaker in the district—in no country was there such harmony and pleasantness as while he lived. Towards his own tenants Brodie was very considerate. His rent "Courts," as they were called, were of a patriarchial character, at which the Laird presided, administering commendation and reproof as they were needed. Brodie shrewdly remarks

that character has a great deal to do with success or the want of it on the part of a tenant. He found that industrious, steady tenants, in small and very poor places, often did better than did those lacking these qualities in larger and better holdings. He resolved to ease the burdens on the really worthy man rather than on his less reputable neighbour. He gave back to the one as his due ; to the other, if he gave anything, it must be of the nature of charity. When his son James succeeded him, it was said he was much harder on his tenants than his father—probably this was unjust to the son, but may be accepted as a testimony to the father's goodness in his dealings with his tenants.

His friendships were not limited to those of his own way of thinking. The young Laird of Cromarty, gay, proud, and passionate—a Royalist of the swash-buckler order—was a great friend of his. The old Puritan and the young Cavalier had little in common, but the sweet memories of a beloved spouse made Brodie's heart very tender towards the foibles of his gay relative, Urquhart of Cromarty. Cromarty's tragic death by his own hand a few days after he had been at his table, caused Brodie and his family the deepest anguish.

Brodie says he was sometimes ready to envy those that had prospered in the world and had great possessions, but on reflection he desired to be ashamed of these thoughts. "I have cause enough in outward respects to be content with my lot, but much more in regard of the will of God. Few are compassed with so much of outward accommodation and comforts as I am, and if I

want anything it needs not trouble, for I have beside (over and above) that which may suffice."

Lord Brodie disliked insincere manifestations of grief, and from seeing the abuse of wearing symbols of mourning indiscriminately at funerals, he came to the resolution to lay aside all outward show of mourning on such occasions, at the same time confessing there were many things wrong in the world that he could not mend. His example in this matter, it may be assumed, was not generally followed, but it shows the independence of his character in going against conventional usuage when opposed to his sense of propriety.

The old Kirk of Dyke, to which Lord Brodie was so much attached, but attended so reluctantly in his latter days, was a much larger edifice than the present Parish Church. It surprises one to learn that it was thatched with heather. In keeping with their territorial standing as heritors of the parish, the two principal galleries in the old kirk were those of the Earl of Moray and the Laird of Brodie. Both also had family tombs or vaults within the sacred edifice. In the Moray vault in this humble country-church reposed the remains of several Earls of Moray and members of their families. The Brodie tomb was immediately below the Brodie gallery. In the year 1655 Lord Brodie records in his diary that "the Lord did put it in his heart to provide a place for his own burial and for the burial of his poor kindred without ostentation or vanity, but in sobriety and in the fear of the Lord." This vault, built by the pious care and forethought of the good Laird of Brodie, still remains as an

adjunct to the Church. The burying place of the Earls of Moray, however, is now outside the church itself, the new edifice having been built on a smaller scale.

One of the most familiar objects to Lord Brodie in his daily life must have been the beautiful old cross of Dyke. It is said to have stood in the centre of the village of Dyke. If that is so, its comparatively fine state of preservation is remarkable. It has been subjected to no rough usage, and the hand of time, extending over fully ten centuries, has dealt very gently with the delicate tracery of its sculptures and ornaments. The view of it given in the frontispiece shows the face of the slab bearing the outline of an ancient Celtic cross, formed of interlaced work. On the reverse side, the characteristic symbols of the period—the bent rod, the double disc, the elephant symbol, and others, are likewise pourtrayed in the chain pattern, along with figures of two birds with fish-like bodies. An Ogham inscription on one of the edges of the slab has never been deciphered. It is an undoubted memorial of the founder of the Columban Church in Dyke, and is probably of ninth century age. As already stated, it now stands near the gate-way of the east avenue of the Brodie Castle grounds.

CHAPTER XIII.

LORD BRODIE'S RELIGIOUS REFLECTIONS.

IN the writing of his Diary, Lord Brodie records many of his views on Christian doctrine and experience, which have a permanent value. They illustrate the religious thought of the time as well as reveal the character of the writer. His style is such that his sentences fall naturally into the form of aphorisms, which can be separated from the context without affecting their perspicuity.

The following are examples of his reflections :—

People may attain to a great deal of outward performance of duties and flourishing profession, and yet the heart not be right in God's sight.

Though a heart go on in a course without contradiction, it does not argue uprightness.

A heart may be touched for the straits and not for the cause of the straits : sin is not the burden, but affliction.

Every fit of repentance or feeling is not a changed, renewed heart.

When the principle of our earnestness is not right:—when it arises from self-love and revenge, or fear of calamity to come, and not out of delight in God and anger at ourselves for grieving Him.

It is mercy that our duty is laid on by way of covenant —He might have laid it on simply and out of His absolute sovereignty.

A sincere heart will find not only a necessity to confess and mourn, but to bind and lay obligations on self.

A sincere heart will be convinced much of its own unsteadfastness.

God doth not so much look at what we are in the present state or fit of repentance or mourning, as what we are in the substantial duties of covenanted absolute obedience: the one will sooner mis-lippen us than the other.

If substantial duties are neglected or slighted, it is a shrewd suspicion, be the repentance what it will, that it is not right.

Eye the rewards on duties, but not as a covenant of works. Hang not the weight of our well being on the duty, but on Christ by faith.

Men, when trials are over, are ready to lay by their weapons, and to become more loose than when they were in the strait.

The Lord lets trials be on us and rids us not even when we cry, because He sees that His people are not so steadfast to Him as they would abide by Him if they wanted these trials.

Let us have much to do with God, beside particular difficulties. Let the love of and delight in Himself set us on to seek Him when we want straits or difficulties.

Self-denial, joined with faith, helps much to perseverance.

When we want difficulties to exercise, then be exercised in seeking the light of His countenance and His favour, and to be satisfied and delighted in Him, though we lacked trouble.

Hearts are unchangeable and incurable if God employest not His power and His grace.

Guard against the temptations that may arise from either allurement or threatening or force: fair temptations are most dangerous.

They cannot sanctify the Lord in their hearts who in time of danger run to the arm of flesh, fear the power of men, love this world or the things in it, or that go to His enemies for protection.

Blindness makes stumbling, not only when a people directly contradict and reject the Lord, but when with false reasoning they will not hear His words, but have their consciences tied to false teachers.

Men that begin to decline will not get the mediocrity of declining kept that they think.

Good motions cannot be kept in with all our care and watchfulness, and are soon extinguished; but evil ones are still burning and cannot be extinguished.

A strong hand is needful to keep from evil ways; not a word only, but Thy hand.

It is not enough to see, and confess and apprehend, but to have the heart duly and deeply affected with it, and to be strengthened by His mighty power with grace in the inward man to do what He calls to.

He is not to teach him who knows far more and is more able to instruct.

Truth is one, and one Gospel-way to which we are morally bound.

Where there is no love there can be no delight.

Let the heart and mind be kept free and unpolluted unto Thee, through Jesus Christ, and let the love be unto Thee alone, and to no creature.

Oh that he would establish the beauty and order of His house, without formality, or spiritual tyranny, or confusion, or jangling!

Resolve in the Lord's strength from this day forward to seek Him for Himself.

Some put all religion in the affections, in rapturous heats and ecstatic devotion; and all they aim at is to pray with passion and think of heaven with pleasure, and to be affected with those kind and melting expressions wherewith they accost their Saviour till they persuade themselves that they are mightily in love with Him, and from thence assume a great confidence of their salvation, which they esteem the chief of Christian graces. Thus are these things which have any resemblance of piety, and at the best are but means of obtaining it, or particular exercises of it, frequently mistaken for the whole of religion; nay, sometimes wickedness and vice pretend to that name.

I dare not question but Thou wilt forgive and hear. But ere I come to glory and my journey's end I will spend much of Thy free grace.

It is not enough to see and confess, and apprehend, but to have the heart duly and deeply affected with it, and to be strengthened by His mighty power with grace in the inward man to do what He calls to.

Lord keep me from leaning to my own understanding, but fill with the saving knowledge and understanding of Thy law.

Stir up and grant this spirit of strength not only to confess, be convinced, determine and offer, but by Thy effectual grace to be borne through, that I fail nor faint not, or come short in a real sincere endeavour and aim at every duty, not at one only, but to have respect to every command of Thine.

Oh that there were a spirit of courage and wisdom poured out on us that we might be valiant for the Lord and for the truth! Let Thy word abide in me, O Lord—this is my humble, only suit.

Desiring to avoid contention, O Lord, I will let go the truth and dispense with duties and condemn duties—and this is a grievous snare and a fearful danger, not seen, not seen.

Let not false reasoning and appearance deceive and draw away the heart, for Thy law do I love, in Thy laws I delight, according to the inward man.

Any cause, though never so deeply contrived, though never so wise, which leads from the Lord, is but silliness and folly. Print this on my heart.

Simplicity cannot bear us out in that which is evil; if it be not seasoned with holy wisdom, it cannot but insnare and mislead us.

Success should be rightly and wisely construed. When we construct providence or judgment wrong, to confirm us in an evil way, it is to speak lies against the Lord and to father wickedness upon him, for He takes no pleasure in any thing that is evil.

Carnal confidence, or leaning to creatures, and mis-knowing the Lord is a great degree of apostacy.

They will never mourn for the sins of the Church or of their own soul that see not the heinousness of them beyond the sins of any other.

We poor creatures are commanded by our affections and passions, they are not at our command; but the Holy One doth exercise all His attributes at His own will, they are at his command; they are not passions nor perturbations in His mind, though they transport us.

The Lord will never let forth more danger than may consist with the good pleasure of His will, and His fidelity and covenant and love to His people, or that may hinder His sympathy with their sufferings.

Goodness and compassion appear as in forbearing to strike, so in moderating when He strikes and laying less on us than we deserve.

They are cruel to themselves that put the Lord to strike: He smites not willingly. Not observing His oft preventing mercy in holding off wrath is great unthankfulness to God, and a provocation to strike.

To those that have not been smitten in the common calamity see that immunity from the stroke be not the saddest stroke. Turning away anger and the manifestation of it, may prove the pouring out of greatest anger.

Let us not so much grumble at that which is upon us, as wonder that there is not more inflicted on us. We oft sin in not shewing forth our thankfulness in acknowledging the mercy in our afflictions, whilst we complain.

When afflictions are a-dealing let us not refuse to take our share with the Lord's people, though oft they get the first, yet never the sorest.

Join with whom we will, they shall taste more of the dregs than His Church.

When our cry arises only from self and fear of our external calamity, we are no better than brute beasts.

There is no right turning to God, but when He is taken up to be the Most High God.

Nothing will so surely or suddenly bring on judgment as defending ourselves in sin, and not taking with our sin and the punishment of it.

Our repentance must not be like a deceitful bow.

Prayer and an orderly conversation must be joined together, or else it is rebellion against Him.

We oft pertake of the fruit of His compassion and know it not; therefore we would not taste and see His compassion in any thing.

The choices of men are frail and nothing, and as the wind it passeth away and returns not again.

Uncontentedness with our estate and lifting up ourselves against God, shows we know not our original.

We should not complain of our condition here as hard : when we are under a cross we think we are well if this were over ; and yet we may change our cross, but not our condition. Let us not build much on outward comforts ; they will not last or continue.

Changes will trouble us the less, when we resolve with them before hand and think not on building tabernacles to ourselves here.

Men are atheists in the point of their own frail mortal condition here, and atheists in the point of eternity.

To one that knows his own nothingness, the Lord's mercy is never tasteless.

He that knows himself cannot be beguiled of the world or disappointed ; he is prepared for the worst it can do, and is not allured nor taken with the best of creatures.

It is a woeful thing when the Lord refutes our pretences and delusions by rejecting our prayers.

Help me to know when refusing prayer is a refusing of pretended interest in Thee.

A real interest in God is a sure consolation in time of trouble.

Though we were not under covenant with God or would retract our promise, yet that frees us not from obligation and ties, for we are bound to Him by law.

Profession and practice must be joined together, for it suffices not to say, " My God, we have known Thee," while we cast off the thing that is good.

No obligation or tie can bind them that have no principle of grace.

Cross dispensations should not discourage those the Lord minds good-will to, and prosperous dispensations should not make them secure that walk in a wrong way, displeasing to Him.

The more grace and the more doing in religion, Christ gets the more ado.

It is a good thing whatever befal us, that we be drawing nearer to God and eschewing evil.

Let men say what they will, the best way in the world and best for us, is to follow the Lord still.

Resting on a standing interest in God, and a convinced mind of sin and duty, doth beguile many in the taking up of their own estate.

Our good and the Lord's glory are so linked together that we cannot cast off our obedience but be sure we refuse and forsake our own mercy.

We have reason to suspect all our counsels and ways and affections, for, if we be left, we should choose that which is not good to ourselves, but ruin.

God's compassion takes from our very frailty a strong and forcible moving argument to spare and to do us good. All praise!

When we have no other defence, frailty may be a ground of not giving over dependence upon God.

We see that man's preservation is of free grace: many billows go over his head, and one would soon ruin poor man if He did let out all His anger.

Those that have not another argument to plead with God but their sinful helpless condition and frailty, despair not; use that same argument and it may prevail. Be not discouraged, it is a forcible argument with God, if we have an interest in the covenant of grace; for we must not look to ourselves what we are, but at the same time we must look to God what he is. Oh that we knew these two things aright!

Even when they cry down themselves and abhor themselves most, he casts none away for their low base condition in their own eyes.

There is no such hindrance as a concert of any things in ourselves. 'Tis pride that would hinder us from being in His common.

Prediction and providence cannot justify a person or a people in a wrong way—only to the rule the word, and the testimony. Devils may boast of Providence in all the success which they get.

Corrupting the worship of God is a fearful sin, and of itself sufficient to ruin a people or a person.

That policy or security which is founded on a sinful ground to the hurt of religion or in unrighteousness shall prove little to their comfort that take it.

Teach me to walk humbly under darkness and to depend on Thee my light that I stumble not to Thy dishonour.

It is a fearful thing when no dispensation can do a people or a persons turn, neither prosperity nor trouble, nor trials nor kindness nor severity.

A gracious penitent soul does not look at the present failing but all the sores open; looks with a mourning heart at all the slips and passages of unthankfulness throughout his life.

Men oft forbear sin, not of hatred or grace, but because the occasion or temptation is withdrawn; as soon as the spark meets with the flax again it burns.

Men see not the sinfulness of sin; sin and wrath are to them but a contemplation.

Affliction is a candle to show sin; but it is not well if we have not another clearer candle.

A cause of apostacy is when men mourn for the act or outbreaking, but not for the root or foundation of sin.

Spiritual pride arises from an endeavour at humiliation and repentance.

Whatever compassion we meet with in particular of sparing, pardoning, delivering, providing—let us ever have an eye to eternity. Our breath ere long will go out, and not return. Eternity will try the reality of our grace.

Forgiveness is a great high mercy, but we prize it not, for who rejoices in the faith of it and delights himself in God and in the hope of glory? We have not seen the desert of sin, and therefore we quarrel when we should adore and admire and sanctify and love His name in our hearts.

Let us daily take a view of sin and frailty that we may without formality or flattery say, how great are Thy compassions or else I were undone! This would keep our spirits from distemper.

A cause of apostacy is idleness, want of work to hold our spirits in exercise, and giving Christ much to do.

Have high thoughts of God's compassions; for they never found them nor have right to them that have low thoughts of them.

A man may find proofs of God's compassions, and yet find a sad sentence from Him.

Oh, that I had as much diligence, foreseeing and care to avoid spiritual snares as helps to compass business!—then should I by no earnestness grieve Thy spirit and make haste to other things.

They cannot love the law of God that hate not every false way.

Believing is never out of the Christian's way.

For Thy own cause Thou wilt not have any do an act of service to Thee for nought, nor will Thou be in their common.

Oh, help me to try more, and confirm me in believing, albeit I should not see a present making good of promises, or a reward.

CHAPTER XIV.

LORD BRODIE'S DECLINING YEARS.

THE clouds gathered ominously in Lord Brodie's declining years. The peace which he so ardently longed for never came. He lamented and mourned over the divisions in the church and land, and particularly that serious-minded people could no longer enjoy the ordinances and worship of the church. For nearly ten years he found it impossible to join in the communion in his own Parish Church. His solitary Sabbaths, as he called them, were devoted to reading and meditation in the house, his heart going out to the poor desolate handful of conscientious people who exposed themselves to the utmost danger, and his prayer on their behalf was "that they might have counsel, shelter, and acceptance," and that he himself might have light, strength, fortitude, steadfastness of mind, and affection.

In the North there had been no overt resistance to authority. The people answered the summonses of the Earl of Moray for re-

fusing to attend the Parish Church and seeking spiritual instruction where they could get it, but they went to prison rather than obey what they considered the unlawful commands of the Civil Power. While outwardly passive resistance alone was offered, a state of intense feverish feeling was naturally generated by the struggle between the inner conscience and the outward compulsion.

An incident which occurred deepened the sense of the sinfulness which compliance with the behests of the Civil Power involved. A countryman, named Alexander Davidson, was put in prison by the Earl of Moray for attending conventicles and refusing to hear the Conform ministers. In order to obtain his release from prison, Davidson recanted, and was liberated on his promising to hear and to forbear conventicles, but he was no sooner out of prison than he repented. The matter preyed on his mind, he became distracted, and went about crying that he had put his hand to the plough, and, having looked back, had lost his soul. "Oh, that I had suffered death the day that I came out and left the company of the saints in the Tolbooth." The man lost his reason, and had to be confined again to restrain his fury. He died soon after.

But while the Presbyterians in the North remained peaceable and submissive, offering no resistance though wincing under unrighteous and oppressive treatment, the Covenanters in the South were goaded into insurrection by the pitiful persecutions of Archbishop Sharp and the violence of the soldiery employed against them. Lord Brodie sees the futility of their taking up

arms to assert their rights, and clings to the hope that somehow patience in suffering will bring its own deliverance and reward. He is startled by hearing of the tragedy of Magus Moor. Sharp was no friend of his: the last he had heard of him was that he was intent on his ruin. But he indignantly condemns the deed. "It grieved my soul to hear that any professing real grace should fall in such an act." "I abhor it perfectly," is the entry he makes in his diary on May 5, 1679. A few days later there is a large company of visitors at Brodie Castle—the Lairds of Innes, Kilravock, Lethen, and Spynie, and Mr Hugh Anderson of Cromarty, and the assassination of Sharp is the absorbing subject of conversation. "I did disclaim that act," records Lord Brodie, "and said I would have rescued him if it had been in my power," and he adds that "the taking away of Sharp's life would do more harm to religion than ever his life had done or could have done." Brodie hopes that the Covenanters of the South would be able to clear themselves in the eyes of Christendom, but he records a few weeks later that he has heard that the men who had murdered Sharp were with those in the West. "I was grieved for this," he adds; "all things are against us: our sins, our guilt, transgressions."

The assassination of his old friend or enemy, Archbishop Sharp, laid the grounds for Lord Brodie's sorest trial in life.

The Government summoned the heritors and militia of Moray and Nairn to attend the King's host at Stirling, and to march against the Covenanters in the West, who had taken up arms and

were in open insurrection. Brodie was thrown into a state of great confusion, doubt and perplexity—dangers on the one hand and on the other. "I see my person, my family, livelihood, and my outward concerns at stake," if he refused to join. But Lord Brodie had to ask himself what was his duty as a Christian "It is not, is it safest, but is it most acceptable to God? Will it get approbation and have peace?" He continues—"On the one hand I see if I draw back there is unavoidable danger of destruction to me, my poor children and family. Their laws, their venal greed, their covetousness will enhance and swallow up all. On the other hand I have only to ponder what God utters, what He calls to, and being clear in that to take Him for all, and cast dangers, fears, power, malice, lust of men, upon His all-sufficiency, truth, providence, wisdom, sovereignty, power." His perplexity, however, continues, and he delays decision.

If he had seen the diary of a young lady in his neighbourhood, Elizabeth Brodie, in Pluscardine, a near relative of his own, written at the very same moment, he would have found it painful reading. This is what she wrote:—"That week they were making all ready for their going West. Oh! what a sad frame was my heart in. I could not pray a word. Next Sabbath was a sad day, the ark of God in the field, my relations that should have been there, or bearing burden with them that had taken their lives in their hands, even they were strengthening the enemies by complying with them in sending out others." Miss Elizabeth did not know that her destiny was to marry a Covenanting soldier in arms at Bothwell Brig, and that she

would have her full share of trials and tribulations in the persecution that followed the Rising in the West.

It is an exciting time. Lord Duffus, who is charged with the raising and despatching of the northern troops, does not hesitate to commandeer the horses and arms of doubtful friends. His troopers improve on his example, and set fire to their corn-yards. The Lairds of Park, Kinsteary, and Brightmony declare against going out, but the country round about is waiting for Lord Brodie's decision. Those brethren of his in the West may have acted rashly, but the question which pressed itself upon his conscience was always—"But should my hand be against them?" The decision he arrived at was a sort of compromise, easily misrepresented, yet containing an element of justness. He felt compelled to furnish the quota of men he was legally bound to supply for the King's Army, but he resolved that neither himself nor his son should give their personal service. They had both the excuse of ill health at the time. He was, however, saved the trouble of deciding as to putting out his horse, as Lord Duffus came during the night and took them—to Brodie's great relief. Had he only known it, he might not even have sent his foot, as an alarm that the Macdonalds were coming down to raid the country, caused the fiery cross to be sent out, and the men of Moray stood to arms for several days, waiting for the descent of the Macdonalds of the Isles, who, however, never came.

Lord Brodie's partial compliance did him little or no good with the authorities in the South. They ignored the circumstance that a few of his men had found their way South, and dwelt on

the fact that neither he nor his son had joined the King's Army, and that his horse and arms had to be taken by compulsion. Brodie vainly urged the plea of his and his son's illness at the time. He was set down as the King's enemy. A faint hope is held out that the King may extend to him the Indulgence, but his friends find it more prudent for his and their own sakes not to move in the matter. While having every reason to dread the consequences of having failed fully to comply with the orders of the Privy Council, he is greatly distressed by the thought of what he had done, his heart challenging him for having assisted the levies to the extent he had done, small as it was. He lost his peace of mind, and a heavy burden lay on his spirit for many days.

Poor Brodie was in no fit state to bear up under the manifold burdens which had descended upon him. His health was completely broken. He had taken ill on a visit to Lady Grant at Ballacastle, in the month of May previous, and all that summer and autumn he suffered greatly from a painful complaint. The opening of the year finds him worse. On New Year's Day, 1680, he is conscious of faltering in his speech, and from the 9th of January almost to the end of the month he could not see to write his diary, his favourite occupation. The entries now become very brief. In one place he mentions that with the view of averting the snares and dangers he apprehends to be involved in the proposed new model of the standing army, he is considering the advisability of denuding himself of his estate; but as a rule he confines his notes to acknowledgment of the good services of the

friends who minister to him in spiritual things. A fit of leniency had seized the Government, and the prisoners of the Bass Rock were set free. Hence his old friends Thomas Hogg and John M'Killican, the persecuted Covenanting ministers, are at his bedside. "Mr Thomas," as he called the outed minister of Kiltearn, greatly helped him to bear his trials and troubles, cheering him in the darkest hours with words of comfort and consolation. "The Lord requite him," was the old Laird's grateful expression. But the end was approaching, and on Saturday night, the 17th April, his relatives and friends gathered round the bed of the dying man. Four things he had often spoken of in his lifetime as his desire when he came to die. One was that he should have the company of those he loved best in the hour of death. That he had now. Here were his devoted son and daughter-in-law ministering to his comfort; his beloved chaplain, Alexander Dunbar, never leaving him; the familiar voice of his old friend, Mr James Urquhart, in earnest prayer for him; and Mr Thomas Hogg's words of comfort and benediction, soothing his spirit. The second thing he desired was that he should have his reason, and this also was granted him. For three or four hours before his death, he spoke words which his son describes as "sweet, savoury words," exhorting him to be "strong in the Lord and follow in all His ways;" and he gratified the fond hope of his family and friends by giving forth testimony of his faith and hope as a Christian, and passed away after uttering the prediction, "The Lord shall redeem His people." The very hour of his death was according to his desire. "In his life," says his son,

"he thought it would be desirable to pass out of time to eternity in the morning of a Sabbath and to begin an eternal Sabbath, which he obtained."

Whatever estimate is formed of Alexander Brodie's character by the outside world, there is but one opinion of him amongst those who lived in closest intercourse with him. His son feels rebuked and grieved at the thought of how little he had profited by his father's example. "I have seen the godly conversation, the holy and Christian walk of a father—his watchfulness, fruitfulness, his secret communion with God." "He has kept up a light amongst us," while they, the family, had too often weakened his hands; and his son's prayer now was that he might be led to follow in his father's footsteps.

The body was embalmed and enclosed in a lead coffin. The funeral took place on 5th May following, his remains finding a last resting place in the family tomb which he himself had prepared in the old Church of Dyke. And so passed away one of the most remarkable men of his time in Scotland.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUATION.

ALTHOUGH Lord Brodie passes off the scene, there is no break in the continuity of events. The struggle goes on. James Brodie and his wife Lady Mary follow the old paths, and Brodie Castle remains a centre of Covenanting influence—as far as that is possible, for the bands are being drawn tighter. In some respects the new Laird falls short of his father. He has not the same meditative disposition or devoutness of spirit, and is inferior to him in intellectual endowments. But he has a robustness of character, a breezy heartiness, all his own. His fondness for company may sometimes lead him into the pitfalls which the social customs of the times made for the unwary, but he appears sincere in his sorrow as he painfully records in his Diary, kept after the same fashion as his father's, his lapses in that direction, and manfully sets himself to overcome his weakness in face of temptation. Never for a moment does he

waver in his attachment to the old cause. He is as staunch as his father was, and less troubled about the consequences. As for Lady Mary Brodie she has her own way entirely now.

There is no break in the continuity of events, we have said. The old offence of not joining the King's Army to crush the Covenanters of the West is brought up against the Laird of Brodie. A special Commission was sent north to make investigations into the matter. The sending out of the fiery cross summoning the men of Moray to defend themselves against the coming of the Macdonalds serves as a doubtful excuse for the others, but is not accepted for him. The King grants an indemnity to all north of the Spey who failed to appear on that occasion, except those who were suspected of disaffection. They are remitted to the Privy Council to be dealt with, and James Brodie, as one under suspicion, is summoned to Edinburgh. Through the good offices of his friends he is let off with a fine, getting a stern admonition to look to his ways in the future. New troubles thicken around him. As a heritor and prominent man in the district, he has to take some part in the new model for the Militia, which he does with extreme reluctance, and when he has to contribute his quota of men for the rendezvous, he sends three of his tenants "who scruple not at the Test"—the new oath which involved repudiation of the Covenants. One who bluntly refused he says he greatly honoured! It was a weary and apparently going to be a hopeless struggle. The gatherings at Penick and Knockoudie had been suppressed, and even the secret meetings of a few of the faithful remnant were

liable to be broken up by the King's troopers who from time to time over-ran the district in their hunt for Covenanters.

The Laird of Brodie found it expedient to follow his father's example and attend occasionally the ministrations of Mr William Falconer at the Parish Church of Dyke. "I do not find him edifying" was the mildest form of expression used by the Laird when he comes back from church. He has a profound contempt for some of the other young ministers who were being settled in charges as they became vacant in his neighbourhood. For a time the Laird of Brodie went alone to the Parish Kirk. His wife Lady Mary refused to accompany him. Young Alexander Dunbar remained in the house as private chaplain, and conducted services on Sunday, and there was the chance, now very much rarer, of some minister of the old persuasion spending a day with them. But the time came when Lady Mary must go to church or take the consequences. Her husband had been in Edinburgh, and went on a visit to her relatives at Newbattle, and it was represented to him by his friends there that nothing could avert the ruin of his house and family if Lady Mary persisted in "not hearing"—heritors having been made legally responsible for the religious defection of their wives! James Brodie told his friends that he would never seek to influence his wife in a matter of conscience, let the consequences be what they might. Probably he knew that the attempt to do so would be useless. He took home with him, however, letters from Newbattle, including one from Lady Mary's sister, who was married to Sir Francis Scott, to the effect that the consequences of her persistence in the course

she was following would fall not on herself but on her husband and her family. Lady Mary had the spirit of a martyr. She would have braved all consequences if she alone had to suffer for it, but to bring further distress and misery upon those she loved was more than she could bear. So it came about that Mr William Falconer had an additional hearer in the Laird of Brodie's gallery pew in the long Kirk of Dyke, albeit neither a willing nor a sympathetic hearer.

It might be supposed that, having received the outward compliance of the Laird of Brodie and his wife to ecclesiastical rule, the authorities would have let them alone. Not so, however. A special Commission is sent down to Elgin in 1685, to try all persons suspected of nonconformity. The Laird of Brodie, to show courtesy to "the Lords," as they were called, joined the escort of gentlemen who met them at the water side of Spey, and accompanied them to their lodgings at Elgin. He no doubt saw the gallows which "the Lords" had ordered to be erected in case hanging should be necessary. Brodie soon discovered that he was looked on with no great favour by the Judges—he says they looked "stern and squint" at him. He dined with them one day, however, but next day was served with a libel—he and his wife—to stand trial for conventicles and absence from the Kirk. It was as curious a court as had ever sat in Scotland. Through a system of "informing" by the Episcopal clergy, a great haul was made of the persons who had the courage to decline their ministrations on Sundays. The streets of Elgin were thronged as on a market day. People of all ranks

and degrees, men and women—rich and poor—had been brought thither. They were dragged from their homes from scores of parishes. From Aberdeen to Sutherland, they had been picked out. If ever there was a case of the righteous being tried while the evil-doers were allowed to go free, this was one. In very truth, they were the most orderly, decent, and devout people in the whole district. Disloyalty or sedition was not and could not be alleged against them. Heresy, even, was never mentioned. The offence they were charged with was simply that they would not go to church and hear ministers preach whom they disliked, and had availed themselves of the occasional opportunity of hearing those they respected.

Among this band of worthies the Laird of Brodie and Lady Mary take their places. They are placed at the bar separately. Lady Mary admitted that she had abstained from the church till September last. She explained that Mr Alexander Dunbar was a servant in the family, and had prayed and read the Scriptures there when the Laird of Brodie was from home. Alexander Dunbar had been a servant to the late Lord Brodie, who had recommended him to the Laird on his death-bed, and that the Laird exercised in his own family when he was at home. James Brodie made a similar statement on his own behalf, making the most of his father's long-continued illness and his own weak health as an excuse. The Court accepted their statements, counted up the time they confessed they had been absent from the kirk, and added the offence of keeping an unlicensed chaplain, and thereupon imposed a fine of £25,000 Scots, equal to £2000

sterling, on the Laird of Brodie, for his own and his wife's delinquencies. Many of Brodie's friends fared still worse. The Laird of Grant, whose wife was a daughter of Brodie of Lethen, was fined £42,500 Scots; the Laird of Lethen £40,500; Francis Brodie of Milton, £10,000. Other members of the family were similarly dealt with, in the case of David Brodie of Pitgavenie imprisonment in Blackness dungeon being added to a ruinous fine. Mr Alexander Dunbar, the Laird of Brodie's chaplain, was ordered to be banished to the Plantations, but his sentence was subsequently commuted to one of imprisonment in the Bass Rock. Mr James Urquhart and Mr George Meldrum were also sentenced to banishment, but were instead imprisoned in Blackness Castle. Mrs Campbell, Torrich, a lady of gentle birth, refusing to come under promise "to keep the kirk" and abstain from attending religious meetings, was also sentenced to banishment (which meant slavery), and was confined for a year in the prison of Elgin pending arrangements being made for her transportation.

The process of fining and imprisoning the humbler folks was going on quite merrily. The Elgin prison was chokeful, and it seemed almost imperative that the gallows should be called into requisition, if the job was ever to be finished. In the midst of their work, however, the news reached the Court that the King was dead! The Commission of "the Lords" consequently had come to an end. They took a hurried departure, stealing out of the town of Elgin as if in very fear of their lives. Unfortunately their sentences stood, and were given effect to.

James Brodie went to London in the hope of getting his fine reduced, but he was as unsuccessful at Court as his father had been in his day. He urged, but in vain, that the old debt incurred for King Charles II. in Holland should be taken into account—he was forced to give a bond for 22,000 merks and had to find the money.

James Brodie's anxieties were not confined to his relations with the Civil Power over questions of an ecclesiastical character. A feud had broken out between him and his neighbour the Laird of Culbin, regarding their respective rights to the peat moss at Bankhead. The dispute lasted for many years, and not content with fighting it out in the law courts, they resorted to armed musters of their followers. The Kinnairds of Culbin had broken off from the Presbyterian party, and were the strongest witnesses before the Commission against the Brodies for not joining the King's host at Stirling. Their private feud imparted bitterness to their public differences. The peat moss which was the subject of so much contention is now under cultivation as part of the Brodie property. The Culbin estate is a desert of sand. James Brodie was a witness of the destruction of the barony of Culbin by the great sandstorm which happened about the year 1698. The inroads of the sea during the period of great storms recorded some twenty years before by Lord Brodie had left deposits of sand on the low ground on the margin of the shore. A whirlwind from the west caught up the sand and carried it eastward, depositing it in huge mounds and dunes in the very heart of the rich cultivated lands of Culbin, overspreading the whole domain,

and burying the laird's mansion-house, with its orchard and garden, out of sight. The houses of the farmers and cottars shared the same fate. Happily by this time, the Lairds of Brodie and Culbin had become reconciled, and James Brodie was amongst the foremost in showing kindness to the family of Kinnaird in the extraordinary calamity which had befallen them.

Occasional glimpses of the social life of the times are given in the diary of James Brodie, following the practice of his father in recording the daily incidents and experiences of his life. One picture he draws of a household in comparatively humble circumstances, suddenly bereft of its head, is very touching. On 30th September, 1680, the Laird of Brodie records—"This day in the morning I got an account of the death of my worthy honest friend, John Brodie in Pluscardine, who died suddenly the night before, and was in the market all day, came home at night, sat down to table with his family at supper, commended his house to God, and after he had gone to bed died within a quarter of an hour, without anybody getting a word of him; even those of his own got not any word of him. This is not only a sore stroke on the house he belongs to, a well governed house, such as there are few like it in the country, both husband and wife godly persons, and worthy children: I am also smitten in this stroke, and desire to be humbled under it. I went in the evening to visit them at Pluscardine. I found the woman's carriage most Christian, and she appears a pattern of peace and grace, and submission to God's hand and will." John Brodie was buried at Dyke two days later, and the Laird of Brodie's reflection is—"This day's work

might well afford me matter of exercise. This was a man in vigour, strength, a man of conscience, having a well ordered family, trained up in the fear of God, a man of my familiar acquaintance, taken away on a sudden; this I desire to be instructed and taught and warned by." On the Saturday evening following the friends meet at Pluscardine, with the Laird of Brodie as the head of the family, to give counsel in the settlement of their domestic affairs. "We went to Pluscardine," writes the diarist, "where we saw a society and family sympathising one with another. The widow's carriage was such as might evidence much of the grace of God in her. There was such compliance one with another as gave friends little to do. We came to some settlement betwixt the mother and children, in which I desire to acknowledge God."

One of the daughters of this household was the Elizabeth Brodie who wrote so scathingly in her diary of her friends when a few years before they did not show as much courage and zeal in the good cause as she thought they ought to have done. She appears to have been a very attractive person, but refused nearly half the young lairds in Moray, and her marriage, when it took place, became one of the events of the time. A young Covenanter, named James Nimmo, comes on the scene. He was the son of a Linlithgow factor and farmer (who came of a race of small lairds), and falling under deep religious impressions, left his father's home and joined the Covenanters of the West. He fought at the Battle of Bothwell Brig, and was in consequence outlawed. When about to take flight for Holland, he fell in with

the Laird of Park in the South, who engaged him as his factor, and sent him to look after his property of Inshoch in Nairnshire. Nimmo relates that in coming North he expected to find himself in a dark benighted country, but he was not long a resident in the parish of Auldearn when he found as much Christian fellowship as he could have enjoyed in the most favoured parts of the South—an intercourse carried on by conversation and correspondence with intelligent men and women of kindred spirit in the neighbourhood. The Inshoch factor, a stranger at first, became a familiar figure at all the religious meetings at Penick, Knockoudie, and Lethen. His history was unknown, except to his most intimate friends. Nimmo, however, realized ere long that his position as factor to the Laird of Park was one of considerable risk. The poor laird was by this time nearly drowned in debt, and visits of officers of the law, serving writs and summonses and collecting overdue cess at his domicile at Inshoch Castle, were much too frequent to be quite comfortable to his factor, whose identity at any moment might be discovered. He eventually exchanged his post at Inshoch for a similar situation at Lethen. He became friendly with Mr Thomas Hogg, who gave him much sound counsel in spiritual matters, but in one instance doubtful advice in temporal concerns—he recommended Nimmo to marry, and even suggested the lady. Other friends from time to time dropped hints to the same effect, and all of them, apparently without collusion, mentioned the same lady's name as a suitable wife for Nimmo, namely, Miss Elizabeth Brodie in Pluscardine. The courtship of the Covenanter from the South

was of a very prosaic and unromantic character. When he had made up his mind after much reasoning and deliberation, he despatched his "worthy friend James Sutherland" to meet the young lady at Elgin market, and lay his proposal before her. She replied that she would take time to consider it. Eventually the marriage was arranged by consent of her friends, though neither bride nor bridegroom appear very ardent in the affair. They were married at Knockoudie by Thomas Hogg, who having given the advice manfully took the risk of marrying them. By living apart for a time, they hoped to keep the wedding a secret. But it happened that Lord Doune, who probably himself had been an admirer of Miss Elizabeth, came to the district, and was not long in ferreting it out. He discovered who Nimmo was, and set the soldiers of Mackenzie of Siddie on his track. They almost captured him one evening at Pluscardine, Nimmo escaping by hiding in a monk's cell in the old Priory. Thinking his enemies were gone, he came out of hiding, but had to take to his heels with the soldiers full cry after him. He got home to Lethen all right, but decided that any longer stay in the country with safety was impossible. He manages to get away, and his wife follows him, but John Brodie, her brother, is imprisoned, and the marriage contract seized—happily for all parties concerned, the names in the deed had been left blank! Nimmo and his wife eventually make their way to Holland, and amongst the fugitives there, they meet with Lady Pringle of Torwoodlee (Janet Brodie of Lethen), whose happy home so charmed old Lord Brodie when he visited it in 1655, but which the persecution had now broken up.

The Nimmo wedding served as a spark to rekindle the fires of persecution. Siddie Mackenzie's troopers scoured afresh every nook and corner of the district.

The pitiful work of religious persecution went on. The hateful "Test" was mercilessly applied. Bishop Colin Falconer, in whose hands was placed this new instrument of coercion, mild mannered and fair spoken as he was, did not shirk his work. The screw was applied all the more effectively that it was well oiled. There was a revolt against it even on the part of some of his own clergy, and among others, Mr John Cumming, the Dean of Auldearn, rather than accept it resigned his charge. Refusal to accept "the Test" was followed by imprisonment and confiscation of goods. The wonder is it did not lead to overt acts of rebellion, such as had occurred in the West. Lord Brodie, followed by his son, at all times counselled their friends against taking up arms, on the ground of its uselessness. A rebellion, to be justifiable, they said, must have a fair chance of being successful. Thomas Hogg, the minister of Kiltearn, who spent nearly twenty years of his life in Nairnshire and was the real leader of the oppressed people, took higher ground, and maintained that it was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel for Christians to resort to weapons of war even in their own defence. The one Christian weapon, he held, was the patient endurance of suffering for non-obedience to unlawful commands. This principle accordingly became the ruling guide of the conduct of the people. They went to prison and suffered the loss of their goods.

The landing of William and Mary on 5th November, 1688,

was a day of joy and deliverance to the oppressed Presbyterians of the North, in common with the rest of the Protestants of the nation. The Revolution Settlement restored to them their liberties. The Act which re-established the Church of Scotland on the old Presbyterian basis dealt lightly with the Episcopal incumbents in possession. Everyone who took the oath of allegiance to the King was allowed to retain his benefice and conduct the services according to his use and wont, no change taking place during his incumbency. He was not required to conform to Presbytery, but was bound to qualify to the Government—which many of them did. In the case only of those who held charges which were claimed by former occupants who had survived the persecution was a change compulsorily enforced. The band of Northern Presbyterian ministers who thus returned to be reinstated numbered but five—the others had succumbed in the long and weary fight. What the Act did not do, hostile demonstrations against unworthy incumbents accomplished—many such were summarily ejected to make room for better men.

James Brodie and Lady Mary his wife, lived to witness the restoration of religious freedom. Old Lord Brodie's prophecy on his death-bed, "the Lord will redeem His people," was recalled, and they are ere long busy in the settling of a true blue minister from the West, the Rev. Alexander Forbes, in the Kirk of Dyke, from which Mr William Falconer has fled. Their old friend, Thomas Hogg, who had kept his word that no power on earth should ever shut his mouth from preaching the truth as he knew it, is liberated. In recognition of his gifts as a preacher,

personally known to the King at the Hague, he is nominated an honorary chaplain to King William, but settles once more at Kiltearn, there to spend the few remaining years of his life. James Urquhart, wan and emaciated from his imprisonment in Blackness dungeon, returns home, and eventually goes back to his old charge of Kinloss. Alexander Dunbar is chosen minister of Auldearn, and has for one of his elders David Brodie of Pitgavenie, who was allowed out of Blackness prison shortly before, in time to save the Lethen estates, to which he had succeeded, from being sold in payment of the old fines for nonconformity. He is more fortunate than the Laird of Brodie, as he manages to effect a composition for his own and his relatives' default. Several other members of the Auldearn Kirk Session had suffered fine or imprisonment for the old cause. "One of the best men I ever knew," says the Laird of Calder, was Alexander Dunbar, minister of Auldearn, but his life was shortened by the sufferings he had endured in the Bass Rock prison.

The Dunbars of Grangehill had had their vicissitudes. Robert Dunbar, who married Lord Brodie's only daughter, was knighted by Charles II., but his wife died about the year 1675. In the north transept of Elgin Cathedral, Sir Robert erected a monument "in memory of his dearest wife," with the following inscription :—

> A holy virgin in her lyff,
> And nixt, a prudent and a faithful wyf,
> A pious mother, who with Christian care
> Informed hir children with the love and fear
> Of God and vertuous acts : who can express
> More (reader) by a volume from the press ?

Literature was not a strong point with the Dunbars of Grangehill, but the tribute is evidently sincere. The son Robert, who married his cousin, Katherine Brodie (James Brodie of Brodie's daughter), was succeeded by his son Robert, whose son Thomas sold the estate of Grangehill to Sir Alexander Grant, who changed the name to Dalvey. The family of Dunbar became extinct as landed proprietors in 1769. Nimmo and his wife, returning from exile, settle in Edinburgh and become prosperous people. Nimmo is appointed Treasurer of the City of Edinburgh, and his sons and daughters make good marriages. The family genealogist points out that Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law, was a descendant of James Nimmo, the hunted Covenanter who found refuge for a time at Inshoch. The old Castle of Inshoch itself is a pathetic memorial of the ruin of an ancient family, finally overwhelmed by fines and exactions for nonconformity. The Laird of Park and Lochloy went down in the sea of troubles.

With the coming of the Revolution, the Earl of Moray's public career was over. He had risen to positions of great power and influence during the reign of Charles II. and James VII. A Lord of the Treasury in 1678, Secretary of State in 1680, High Commissioner of the Parliament of Scotland in 1686, he was deprived of all his offices. He retired to Donibristle, where he died in 1700. Lady Moray died in London in August, 1682. Her remains were conveyed in one of the King's yachts from London to Findhorn, and thence transported to Darnaway. She was buried at Dyke. Lord Doune married Lady Catharine Talmash,

daughter of the Duchess of Lauderdale by her first marriage. He predeceased his father, after a reckless life.

In the early spring of the year 1708, illness has overtaken both the Laird of Brodie and his wife, and they die within a day or two of each other. George Brodie of Asleisk (who had married Elizabeth Brodie and is nearest male heir), writing to the Laird of Calder on 5th March, 1708, apprises him that the date fixed for Lady Mary's funeral was postponed, as the Laird had died since the notices had been sent out, and among Brodie's last words to him was that he might be buried with his lady on the same day. "Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in death they were not divided"—one funeral, one tomb. The new heir to Brodie expressed the hope to his correspondent—"May our end be also blest in the Lord as his was!" An old stone at the East Lodge of Brodie, read by the passer-by on the public road of Dyke, bears the letters—

I B
L
M K

(James Brodie—Lady Mary Ker.)

They are linked together in legend as in life and death.

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